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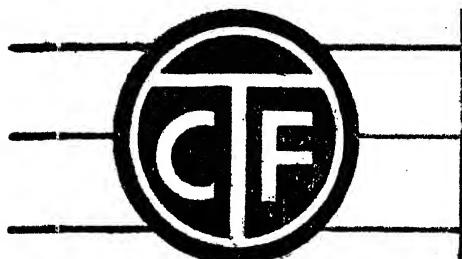
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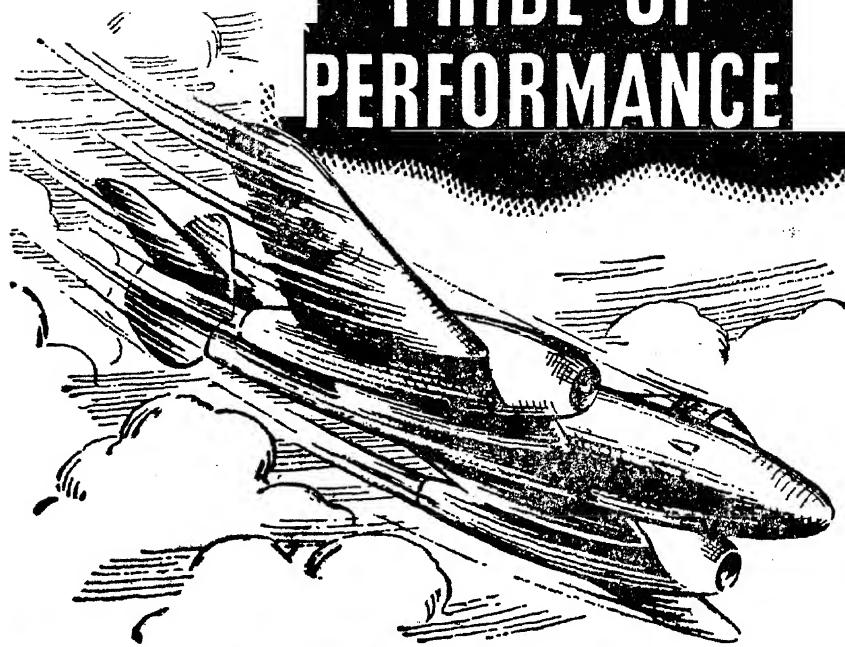
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Volume XI

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IMMIGRATION AND LABOUR

R. L. BAROOAH

There is a constant movement of workers to and from villages in India. This has greatly affected the creation of a stable industrial working class in the country. Analysing the causes for this constant migration of workers, Mr. Barooah suggests ways and means of stopping this movement.

Mr. R. L. Barooah is a senior student of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences.

There is no stable working class in India as in the Western industrial countries. The bulk of the labour population consists of immigrant labourers. They are immigrants in the sense that they do not actually belong to their places of work. The factory workers in the Western countries are born in urban areas and develop in an industrial environment. Therefore they naturally possess an industrial outlook. "The Indian industrial working class is a migratory current of the floating rural employable population, pushed to urban industrial centres due to the seasonal nature of the agricultural industry". Thus the labour supply for Indian industries is drawn for the most part from rural areas. This movement of rural workers to industrial centres is caused not so much by attraction of the cities as by the pressure of population on the land in the countryside. As Dr. R. K. Mukerji said "the crux of the problem of recruitment of Indian industrial labour consists in maintaining an unremitting and increasing flow of immigrant agriculturists and villagers to the centres of industry". This flow of migration is inter-district as well as inter-provincial. A large percentage of industrial operatives in Cotton Textile Industry of Bombay, Jute Industry of Bengal, Iron and Steel factories of Jamshedpur, Coalfields of Bengal and Bihar and the Tea Plantations of Assam belong to provinces other than those in which the industries are located.

Plantation Industry.—The plantation industry of Assam primarily depends on imported labour and is unique among large

scale industries in this respect. Most of the workers on the tea estate are recruited from other parts of the country and only about 5 per cent are obtained locally. The local Assamese people do not like to work in the tea gardens; the tea estates of Assam employ more than 5 lakhs labourers. They are usually from Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Northern Circars and Chhota-Nagpur. Bihar contributed about 50 per cent of the Plantation labour. The recruitment of labourers to the Assam Plantations is governed by the Tea District Emigrant Labour Act, 1932. Immigration is allowed only from Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Madras and Uttar Pradesh. The main objects of the Act are (1) to see that it is voluntary recruitment; (2) that the would-be recruits know the conditions of service; (3) that reasonable arrangements are made for forwarding the labourers from their home towns to Assam and (4) that the worker, unless he wishes otherwise, is repatriated to his home at the cost of the estates after three years' service. But it is found that a large percentage of labourers do not use their right of repatriation under the provisions of the T. D. E. Labour Act, 1932, due to ignorance. The number of workers repatriated annually with their families is from 12 to 16 thousands. The figures for three years i.e. 1941 to 1943 are given below:

Year	No. of workers repatriated
1941-1942	16,853
1942-1943	15,498
1943-1944	15,888

Coal Mines.—Coal mining industry employs about 2.5 lakhs of workers. The industry is mostly located in Bihar, Bengal and Madhya Pradesh. The coal fields of Bihar and Bengal have attracted different streams of immigrant labour in successive periods. Before 1854, the Raniganj coal field was the only one that was developed. It had to depend for its labour supply on the local inhabitants. After the opening of the East India Railway the entire character of labour in the coal fields changed. From then began the virtual Santal invasion into the coal fields. During the period of 1894-1921, Santal labour predominated in the coal fields of Jharia and Raniganj. But towards the close of the first world war, labour from the Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, and the Punjab started flowing into the coal fields of Bengal and Bihar. In the Bengal Coal Fields, about 33.9 per cent of labourers were from Bihar and Orissa. Between 1911 and 1921, their percentage rose from 2 per cent to 11 per cent of the total labour population. This went on steadily increasing in the following years. The chamars, a typical class of workers from the Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh rose in numbers. Practically the whole of this mining labour is drawn from the rural areas and hence these workers are agriculturists first and miners next¹.

Jute Mills of Bengal.—In 1944, the average number of persons employed daily in the Jute Mills was 2,98,000. The industry is mostly concentrated in Bengal. In the initial stage, the workers were mostly from the local areas. With the growth of the industry, the main sources of labour supply became the Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Madras, Bihar and Orissa. But this position

is undergoing a change. Bengali workers are now beginning to take work in this industry.

Cotton Textile Industry.—The textile industry is one of the most well established industries in India. The total number of average daily workers comes up to a little over 7 lakhs and represents about 50 per cent of the total number of operatives in the perennial factories of the country. The industry is mostly localized in the State of Bombay. The labour in the textile mills of Bombay City mostly belongs to the districts of Konkan, Satara, Ratnagiri and Sholapur; a small percentage also come from the Deccan, Uttar Pradesh and Rajputana. But the majority of workers in the textile mills of Ahmedabad, Broach, Nadiad and other places in Gujerat are drawn from the surrounding villages; only a very small percentage come from other parts of the country. In the textile mills of Madras, Madura and Coimbatore the labour force is mainly drawn from the villages of the surrounding districts.

The Manufacturing Industries of Kanpur and Jamshedpur.—In the J. K. Group of Mills at Kanpur, about 20 per cent of labour is permanently settled and drawn from the neighbouring villages. The remaining 80 per cent is migratory in character and come from Bihar, Bengal, Rajputana, Punjab and Assam². At Jamshedpur the Tata Iron and Steel Co., draws its labour from Bihar, Bengal, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, Orissa and Madras. In the Tin-plate Co. of India, the proportion of labour drawn from various Provinces is reported to be as follows: Punjab, 19%; Bihar 15%; Madras 14%; Assam 11%; Bengal 11%; Madhya Pradesh 8%; Uttar Pradesh 8%; Orissa 8%; other places 6%³.

¹ B. R. Seth. Labour in the Indian Coal Industry.

² Report of the Labour Investigation Committee (Main Report) p. 73

³ Labour Investigation Committee, Government of India. 1944 (Main Report) p. 73.

The causes for the exodus of workers from rural areas to industrial centres are mainly economic. The pressure of population on land and low wages force many to move out of their native villages in search of employment in cities and towns. The movement was generally from the places where the pressure of population was great. Thus we find the migration from the over-crowded agricultural tracts of the Uttar Pradesh and Bihar to the industrial centres. The five districts of Ballia, Ghazipur, Banaras, Azamgarh and Jaunpur accounted for the movement in 1921 alone of 125,539 persons to only three industrial regions in Bengal, viz. Hoogly, Howrah and 24 Parganas¹. It is the landless labourers who first migrate; they are followed by cultivators of small uneconomic holdings. As far back as 1880, the Famine Commission observed that "the numbers who have no other employment than agriculture are greatly in excess of what is required for the thorough cultivation of India." This observation was in effect repeated fifty years later by the Royal Commission on Labour in India, 1931 who, in their report, remarked, "Over large parts of India, the number of persons on the land is much greater than the number required to cultivate it and appreciably in excess of the number required to comfortably support. In most areas, pressure on land has been increasing steadily for a long time and rise in the general standard of living has made this pressure more actually felt." The growth of the rural proletariat which has been attributed "to the loss of common rights in the rural economy, disuse of collective enterprise, the subdivision of holdings, the multiplication of rent receivers, free mortgaging and transfer of land and the decline of cottage industries" is indeed a striking feature of India's economy. It is

this feature of India's rural economy that has mainly contributed to the continuous outflow of labour from villages to cities and towns as well as overseas.

Migration of Labour Overseas.— The total number of emigrant labour from India is estimated at 4.1 million. Of these, about 76 per cent are distributed in Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia, Malaya, Fizi, West Indies and Mauritius. In recent years, particularly since the economic depression of the 1930s the emigration has virtually ceased.²

Indians in West Indies.—As early as 1835, Indians, especially from Bihar and the U. P. began migrating to the West Indies under a system of indenture to sugar plantation which promised hardwork, quick money and a free return passage home after ten years. Although these were entitled to free return passage after ten years' stay in the colonies, the majority of them chose to settle permanently in those countries. Thus from plantation labourers, they became pioneer settlers. Today from Jamaica to British Guiana, a large Indian community is to be found.

Indians in South Africa.—The first batch of indentured labourers came to Natal from India in 1860, to work on sugar plantations. In addition to the indentured labour, there was also constant flow of unassisted immigration of Indians into South Africa. In 1913, the Union of South Africa enacted the Immigration Act by which further immigration from India was prohibited. The Government of India abolished the system of indentured labour due to public agitation in 1920. Most of the Indian immigration in South Africa chose to settle permanently inspite of many restrictions and disabilities.

¹ Labour Investigation Committee. Government of India, 1944 (Main Report) p. 73.

² Preparatory Asiatic Regional Conference of the I.L.O. New Delhi: 1947. Report No. 2.

Indians in Ceylon.—The tea and rubber plantations in Ceylon have also depended heavily upon immigrant labour from South India. It was estimated that, at the end of 1936, there were no less than 659,000 Indian workers on the plantations, as against 57,000 native workers¹. By 1945, the number of Ceylonese workers increased to 134,000 and that of Indian workers fell to 447,000. It was due to the rapid growth of population in Ceylon and deterioration in the living standards of the small Ceylonese peasants. The decrease in the number of Indian workers was due in part, to the action of the Government of India in prohibiting the flow of unskilled labour into Ceylon. In 1948, the Ceylon Government withdrew certain railway concessions granted to Indian estate workers travelling to and from India as there was no necessity of attracting new Indian workers. Certain restrictions were imposed on the transfer of funds from Ceylon to India.

Indian Immigration of Labour in Java, Malaya etc.—From the very beginning, the planters of Malaya and Java have had to import labour from the densely populated neighbouring countries, primarily India and China. This large scale influx of immigrant labour has profoundly changed the racial distribution of population of Malaya and Java. In 1941, out of a total population of approximately 5.51 millions in Malaya, Indians were 13.5 per cent. The majority of the plantation workers particularly on the rubber plantations, are Indian and they are of two types, viz., unassisted and assisted immigrants.

Thus it can be seen that there has always been a continual flow of Indian workers from the villages to factory centres inside the country and from the country overseas. The overseas migration has of late dropped

down a little due to several restrictions imposed by the Governments of various countries on Indian settlers; but the flow of workers from rural areas to urban centres still continues.

The peasants who leave the rural environment for employment in factories find themselves transported into a new cultural and economic set up in urban centres. They have, therefore, to adjust themselves to the new surroundings in the cities. The continuous exodus of landless workers from rural areas to the industrial centres tends to delay the process of mechanization of our industries by keeping human labour cheaper than the cost of mechanical development. This influx of workers directly affects the labour market. Plentiful supply of migrant workers from rural areas checks the rise in industrial wages which tend to maintain a parity with the rural wage scale. The standard of living of an industrial worker in an urban area is constantly threatened by the influx of fresh workers from the countryside anxious to get a job at any price, prepared to stay in the most insanitary hovels and unaccustomed to any form of modern social organization. This movement of workers from rural areas to factory centres has also a deleterious effect on the growth of the Indian trade union movement. It has proved to be one of the biggest handicaps in organizing strong trade unionism in the country.

The link with the countryside which characterises industrial labour in India has its advantages as well as disadvantages. It provides a much needed supply of funds to the countryside from urban areas in the form of remittances from industrial workers to their relatives in the villages. Also when they return to their villages, the workers take their savings with them.

¹ Preparatory Asiatic Regional Conference of I.L.O. in Delhi, 1947. Report IV.

Moreover, it facilitates the penetration of urban influences and improved ways of life into isolated parts of the interior. The village also provides a home of refuge to the industrial workers in times of sickness or in his old age. On the other hand, the industrial worker tends to look upon his urban existence with its restraints and discipline of organized employment as a temporary, if not disagreeable phase from which escape may one day be sought in the freedom of his native village. This attitude on the part of the worker prevents his complete urbanisation and industrialisation. Hence he always remains a half villager and a half industrial proletarian, thereby creating complex and complicated industrial problems in the country, apart from the difficulties of his cultural adjustment to the urban atmosphere.

The problems of those who have migrated overseas are different. They are in perpetual danger of exploitation and maltreatment, because the laws of their own country can no longer protect them. This can be illustrated by the case of the Indians in South Africa, East Indies and other places. But one encouraging feature is that, inspite of so many disabilities and restrictions, they have been able to improve their conditions and contribute immensely to the development of those places where they migrated. These industrious and law abiding poor agricultural immigrant workers from India played an important part in the development of those British Colonies.

Remedies.—So far very little has been done to tackle this problem of labour migration from villages to towns. A comprehensive scheme should be adopted to bring about Agrarian Reforms on the lines suggested by the Congress Agrarian Commission (Kumarappa Committee Report). Greater employment opportunities have to be created

in the innumerable villages that lie scattered in India. The villager should not be allowed to feel that he will get better employment if he goes to a town or a city. Introduction of Co-operative Farming, improved methods of agriculture, development of rural industries and industrial co-operatives (Indusco) on the Chinese model would diminish the migration of men from the countryside to the urban centres. In this sense, both Mahatmaji's attempt to revive the spinning wheel and cottage industries and the plans of the industrialists like Henry Ford to locate factories in rural communities may be regarded as attempts to meet the same problem.

The scheme for regional distribution of industries is ideally suited to such a vast country as India. Organised industries can be established near the sources of their raw materials and labour market. We can take the example of Russia where Cotton Mill industry is located in Central Asia and Transcaucasia and beet, and sugar industries in the Northern parts of Ukraine. The industries can be formed in India as they were formed in wartime China. Or a great number of industries can be distributed into small components as have been done in the Scandinavian countries, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, Sweden and spread out in the country in order to increase employment opportunities. For the stabilization of our industrial working class, the general working conditions of the various industries should be improved. Anything which contributed to the permanent stabilization of industry would reduce this danger of periodic influx into the labour market from the countryside.

The Government of India have recently appointed the National Planning Commission under the Chairmanship of Prime

Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Among the members of the Commission, there are prominent industrialists, economists and labour leaders. We hope the Commission would consider this problem of stabilization and creation of a real industrial working class in India. They must also find out

some ways and means to stop this influx of landless agricultural workers into the urban industrial centres. India is on her way to industrialization. Hence the Planning Commission must pay serious attention to this problem of migration of workers from rural areas.

ABSENTEEISM IN INDUSTRY

V. LAKSHMINARAYANA RAO

Absenteeism in industry has been a persistent evil in India. It is not uncommon even in some industrially advanced countries like the U. S. A. and the U. K. The author, in this article, makes a comparative study of absenteeism in industry in India and abroad and makes suggestions for minimising this evil, which deserve the attention of all industrialists.

Mr. V. Lakshminarayana Rao is a senior student of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences.

The problem of absenteeism in industry faces almost every country in the world. In India, its magnitude is far greater than in the western countries.

Absenteeism is generally understood in different ways by different persons. It is commonly understood as an employee or a group of employees remaining absent from work either continuously for a long period or repeatedly for short periods. But in the industrial field, absenteeism conveys a different meaning, and is expressed in different ways in different countries or industries. In simple language, it is the total number of workers absent expressed as a percentage of the total number of workers employed.

In more technical words the same may be said to mean "a ratio of the number of production man-days or shifts lost to the total number of production man-days or shifts scheduled to work."

For purposes of calculation, an employee is considered scheduled to work, when there is work available and the employee is aware of it, and when the employer is fully aware that the employee will be available. In calculating absenteeism, public holidays, and other days when the factory is closed are excluded. When the employee takes time off on a scheduled working day, he is considered to be absent. Also, when the worker remains away from work, without informing the employer, he is treated as wilfully absent.

In calculating the rate of absenteeism, the procedure adopted differs from mill to mill in the same place and from place to place in the same industry. For example, in the cotton textile mills in Bombay, if a worker is absent and a substitute is taken in his place, as far as the permanent worker is concerned, he is treated as absent. But in the mills in Ahmedabad, if a substitute is taken for the permanent worker who is absent, he is not treated as absent for calculating the rate of absenteeism. Such divergencies in methods of calculation exist from place to place and factory to factory in the country. This makes a lot of difference and hence it is not possible to have a clear and comprehensive or comparative view of the rate of absenteeism in industry for want of a uniform basis.

Secondly, no scientific method is adopted in India, for investigating the rate of absenteeism in any particular industry, on a nationwide scale or even in a localized unit, as is done in the western industrial countries. In the West, research bodies like the National Industrial Research Board in England are making special enquiries into the causes and incidence of absenteeism in a selected area or industry within a specified time. Similar investigations have been made in other countries like Canada by the Canadian Munitions and Supply Department and in New Zealand by the Industrial Psychological Department, of the Scientific Industrial Research Department and the results of their investigations along

with their suggestions for improving the conditions are published. Such investigations into industrial labour conditions in India were hitherto carried on, though not on very scientific lines, on only two occasions, once by the Royal Commission on Labour in 1931, and then in 1946 by the Labour Investigation Committee. On both these occasions, the investigations were so comprehensive, and the field of enquiry was so wide that little time and space were devoted to the subject of labour absenteeism in Industry.

According to the Royal Commission, no industry was able to collect or furnish any data about the causes or rate of absenteeism. Even when such data were collected in some cases as absenteeism due to sickness they were inadequate again, as the details of sickness etc. were not available. The Royal Commission also noted that a large percentage of absenteeism was being classified under "other causes" or "without any acceptable reason." But during the period of the Second War, more care seems to have been taken to collect data on absenteeism in Industry.

Absenteeism In Cotton Textile Industry.—A high rate of absenteeism prevails in the cotton textile industry in India. This industry is mostly localized in the three centres of Bombay, Ahmedabad and Sholapur in the Bombay State, Madras, Madura and Coimbatore in the Madras State and to a minor extent in Nagpur in Madhya Pradesh and Kanpur in the Uttar Pradesh. The following tables gives a comparative idea of the rate of absenteeism in cotton textile mills in a few centres of the country in the three years 1939, 1944 and 1948:—

Place	Absenteeism in Cotton Textiles*		
	1939	1944	1948
1. Bombay	10.5	11.4	13.3
2. Ahmedabad	3.3	5.7	5.9
3. Sholapur	10.8	15.4	18.1
4. Madura	10.1	13.6	13.9
5. Madras	—	—	9.1
6. Calcutta	8.9	6.31	

Of the three places in the Bombay State, the rate of absenteeism is very high in Sholapur in all the three periods and it is lowest in Ahmedabad. This is due to the difference in method adopted in calculating the rate of absenteeism in the three centres.

Woollen Textiles.—The rate of absenteeism is equally high in the woollen textile industry also in Bombay, when compared with the figures elsewhere. It was 15.2 percent in Bombay in 1948, while in the same year it was 11.68 percent in the U.P., 10.63 percent in Mysore and 14.8 percent in Kashmir.**

But it is not known whether or not a uniform method is followed in computing the figures in all the centres.

Iron and Steel Industry.—The figures for Iron and Steel Industry reveal that the rate of absenteeism is high in Bengal and Bihar, where it was 13.9% in 1949, whereas, in Madras, it was 6.9% in the same year. This industry is mostly concentrated in Bihar and Bengal due to the proximity of the available raw materials. Attempts have been made to bring down the percentage of absenteeism in this industry but they seem to have produced practically no result so far.

*Figures for 1939 and 1944 are taken from the Labour Investigation Committee Report and for 1948 from the Indian Labour Gazette 1948-49.

¹ This figure is for the year 1943.

** Indian Labour Gazette, June 1949, p. 883.

The figures of absenteeism in some industries are classified on the basis of their causes. The following table shows absenteeism classified according to their causes:—

STATEMENT SHOWING PERCENTAGE OF ABSENTEEISM BY CAUSES IN THE YEAR 1949 IN THREE STATES.

State	Sickness	Leave Other than Holidays	Social Causes	Other Causes	Total
Bengal	3.4%	8.3%	0.3%	1.9%	13.9%
Bihar	4.5%	5.2%	1.4%	2.8%	13.9%
Madras	1.8%	3.4%	1.7%	...	6.9%
All States	3.2%	5.6%	1.1%	1.6%	11.6%

It is interesting to note from the above table that of all the causes "leave other than holidays" accounts for nearly 50% of absenteeism. Sickness comes next and works out to less than 33½%.

In Bengal and Bihar, labour is mostly recruited from the neighbouring villages and also other States like the U.P., M.P., and the Punjab. Absenteeism has been found to be greater during the harvesting seasons, when they go to their villages for sowing, transplantation and other agricultural operations. The workers that come from other States go to their native places twice or thrice a year and remain absent for about ten to fifteen days on each occasion.

Coal Mines.—The rate of absenteeism is high in coal mines especially among the miners and loaders. Generally agricultural and tribal people of the neighbouring villages are recruited for work in the mines. As they are more attached to their land, they absent themselves periodically from this work. These agricultural workers are found to have a natural dislike for work underground. The rate of absenteeism is

very high—in Bihar it was 34.4% in 1947. The most important reason as explained by Dr. R. K. Mukherjee in his book, "The Indian Working Class" is, that there is a general shortage of labour force in the mines and labour does not remain steady. Workers constantly move from mine to mine in search of better wages.

Mica Mines.—Absenteeism in mica mines is also very high. Even though no proper records are maintained in any of the mines, the Labour Investigation Committee has enquired and found out that about one-third of the total labour force remains absent on the day following the pay-day, and about 10 to 15% remain absent for two or three days. It was found that absenteeism in mica factories of M/S Chrestein & Co. was as high as 25 per cent in 1943. The rate of absenteeism is still higher in the mica mines in Madras State—34.4%; it is higher among the non-resident workers during the rainy season. In mica factories in Madras, the rate of absenteeism varies between 10 per cent and 20 per cent from one factory to another. But in Rajputana, the problem is not so great, except during the monsoon. Here labour is not mobile and there is not much of drink evil as in Bihar and Madras.

Tea Plantations.—The rate of absenteeism in plantations is equally high, especially in the tea gardens of Assam. When compared to other industries, the rate in tea plantations stands second in order, while that in the mines takes the first place. It is also seen from the following table* that absenteeism increased during the war years.

Absenteeism in Tea Plantations in Assam:
(Figures in %)

Pre-War	During War	Post-War
1938-39	1944-45	1946-47
25.2	27.7	24.2

*Indian Labour Gazette 1938-39, 44-47.

In plantations, absenteeism, it has been found, is generally higher in summer than in other seasons.

Cement.—In cement factories figures of absenteeism vary from State to State as shown below for the year 1949 for 11 months*:

Madras—6.4%

Madhya Pradesh—11.5%

Bihar—13.2%

Bengal—10.1%

The percentage of absenteeism in these cases has been found to be very high in January '49 in M.P. and Bihar and falls to half by the year end. But it is reported that in all the four States there is a higher rate of absenteeism in the months of January and July.

Ordnance Factories.—The figures of absenteeism have been collected in different ordnance factories since the war, as the Government realised the necessity of finding out the rate of absenteeism and its causes and effects, in order to minimise the same, and increase production. The following figures will give an idea of absenteeism in this industry and the percentage under each cause during the year 1948 to 1949:—

Percentage of Absenteeism in Ordnance Factories in 1948-49§

State	Sickness	Leave other than Holidays	Social and Religious Causes	Other Causes	Total
Bengal	2.2	2.5	0.2	2.5	7.4
Madras	0.3	6.0	0.2	0.2	6.7
Uttar Pradesh	1.2	4.5	0.5	1.5	7.7
Madhya Pradesh	1.4	7.7	0.2	0.8	10.1

*Ibid, 1949.

§Indian Labour Gazette 1948-49.

**Indian Labour Gazette, April 1949.

From the above statement it can be seen that the rate of absenteeism is higher in the Madhya Pradesh than in other States.

Dockyards.—Among the dockyard workers in Bombay, Calcutta, Cochin and Vizagapatam, the rate of absenteeism is very considerable as shown by the table below:—

PERCENTAGE OF ABSENTEEISM IN DOCKYARDS
IN 1946-47**

State	Dockyard	1946 %	1947 %
Bombay	Mazgaon	31.7	31.8
	H.M.I. Dockyard	19.47	16.09
	Bombay Steam Navigation Co.	9.88	9.91
Calcutta	India General Naval & Railway Co.	—	13.1
Cochin	Dockyard	6.3.	8.1
Vizagapatam	Scindia Steam Navigation Co.	18.9	10.19

The percentage is highest in Mazagaon Docks in Bombay. This may be due to the Pali system existing here—that is the workers are sent on forced leave by turns, whenever there is shortage of work. The range between maximum and minimum is far wider in Scindia Docks at Vizagapatam, which is 20.4% in January 1947, and 3.2% in October 1947.

It is not known whether a uniform method has been adopted in computing the figures of absenteeism in all the dockyards. It does not appear to have been followed; the low figure for October '47 was due to the labour strike in that month. If the strike situation is not taken into consideration, the figures as they are do not speak of the facts.

So far, the rate of absenteeism as it exists in different industries in different States of India has been shown. It is clear from the few tables given that absenteeism varies from 10% to 15% in factory industry and it is 25% in plantations and about 40% in mica mines. On a careful scrutiny of the various tables of absenteeism given above, it is seen that in general absenteeism is considerably higher in North India than in the South.

It may here be profitable to compare the figures of absenteeism in industries in India with those obtaining in industries in the highly developed Western countries. Unlike the investigations in India, enquiries into absenteeism and the causes thereof in the Western countries have been made on more scientific methods; and the remedies suggested are generally carried out by the industries, Government and private bodies.

Absenteeism in U.K.—The industrial Research Board under the auspices of the Medical Research Council carried out an investigation into the problems of absenteeism in the United Kingdom. The extent of this enquiry was in all 60 factories, big and small, employing about 75000 workers and found out the following results:—

	Absenteeism
Peace Time	— 5%
War Time	— 6 to 8% for men
" "	— 10 to 15% for women

It was also found that women absentees are twice as many as men and married women three times more than the unmarried ones. Another important fact revealed by the enquiry is that the rate of absenteeism is double in larger and new factories than in smaller and old establishments. Secondly the rate again is higher among women workers. Thirdly, the rate of absenteeism is higher in the case of workers, whose living places are far away from the factory.

The factors within the factory that are found responsible for the high rate of absenteeism are—(1) Long hours of work; (2) Bad working conditions; (3) Efficiency and general contentment of the labour force; (4) Boredom which affects the younger workers; (5) Lack of co-operation between management and labour and between groups of workers.

The investigating Board suggested that the worker's health, physical and mental, should be safeguarded, as they found that absenteeism in most cases was caused by illness. Secondly they also suggested improvement of transport facilities, besides creating satisfactory working conditions in the factory.

New Zealand.—Similar enquiries into absenteeism were conducted by the Industrial Psychology Department of the Scientific Industrial Research Department in New Zealand and found that the rate of absenteeism in factories was 6.5% for men and 11.5% for women due to all causes.

Australia.—An enquiry was conducted into the matter in 1942, when 16 private factories and 10 Government factories, employing about 20,000 workers were studied. In this method of enquiry, leave and authorised holidays were excluded and absence of all other categories was taken into account. The rate of absenteeism according to this enquiry was 7% for men and 13% for women. The absenteeism was higher among women workers.

Canada.—An enquiry was conducted in Canada in 1942 to find out the rate of absenteeism, by the Canadian Munitions and Supply Department.

The field of enquiry covered 35 factories engaged in war work and they were representative of the whole of Canada, both big

and small factories employing 12,000 to 100 workers, the average being 2,500. The average rate of absenteeism was 6.4% in October 1942, and 6. 9% in November 1942. Here also the results indicated that the rate was higher among women workers; in one factory it was 24%.

The rate of absenteeism is found to be comparatively lower in the western industrial countries, as seen from the statistics given above for a few countries. This may be perhaps due to the industrial consciousness of the workers there.

Effects of Absenteeism.—Absenteeism causes a twofold loss. Firstly it affects the worker in his earnings; and secondly, it affects production. The worker, by absenting himself from work, earns less than what he should and thereby his standard of living is lowered. When he is unable to maintain a proper standard of life, his efficiency is lowered, consequently the quality of the article produced also is affected.

Secondly, production in the industry is retarded, due to the frequent and repeated absence of a number of workers in each department. It may not be the same worker or group of workers. It is not possible for the industrialists or the works manager to handle the situation with the help of untrained substitute labour, whose standard of production and efficiency are not on a par with those of the experienced and trained permanent workers. Therefore, the employer has to maintain a permanent auxiliary labour force in the factory, to replace the absentees. But this will increase the cost of production. Even if the latter course were to be adopted it gives an advantage to the employer to 'play off' workers and force some of them to go on compulsory leave, as is usually done in many of the textile factories.

Both these factors indirectly affect the morale of other workers in the job. The foreman or production manager may ask the worker who is present to do the job of the absentee, instead of taking a substitute in order to avoid the increase in the cost of production. In such a case, the workers will resent it and this creates bad feelings among them. Therefore, industrialists consider that absenteeism is a persistent hindrance to production.

An examination can now be made of the various causes of absenteeism, which is so high in India.

Sickness.—The most important and common reason that is given by an employee for his absence from work is sickness. The general health of the industrial workers is very low due to malnutrition, low wages and hard manual work for long hours. His general vitality is sapped in the factory and when he returns home he has to live in a crowded, ill ventilated house in an insanitary locality.

Secondly, the occupational diseases like silicosis caused by inhaling of quartz dust by the miner, in a mica or coal mine and fluff by the sider and the waste cooly in a cotton textile factory, affect the respiratory system of the worker and shortens his span of life. In order to save himself from the fatal end, or to cure himself of the disease, the worker frequently absents himself from work.

Accident is another important cause which accounts for absenteeism. Generally in every factory where statistics of absenteeism are maintained, accidents and sickness are treated under one head. Lack of proper knowledge about the use of the machine, and improper or lack of protection to the machine are responsible for the high incidence of accidents.

Accidents also occur due to bad working conditions. Managements have to rectify these unsafe conditions. During 1943, in the shipyards in the United States, it was estimated that the total man-days lost were 20 per each disabling injury, which were estimated as 1,02,500.

The rate of absenteeism caused by sickness and accident is about 25% of the total absenteeism.

Hours of Work.—Even though the Factory Act stipulates the hours of work as 48 per week and 8 to 8½ hours per day with rest breaks, many industries do not observe this rule. Even under the present stipulated time, the worker is exhausted and unless he takes sufficient rest, he is not fit for work the next day. Many employers often engage the same workers for working overtime also. The worker too, not knowing the consequences, takes up overtime work for immediate economic advantage. It has been investigated and found in the West that workers working for longer hours per day are more frequently absent than those that work shorter hours with intervals for rest.

Fatigue.—This is caused by arduous work and compels a man to take rest. When he neglects to take rest, during night, he is forced to absent himself from work the next day.

Boredom.—The monotonous and repetitive job causes absenteeism. The worker should be allowed to change over from one job to another to get relief from the monotony as is often done by the drawer and reacher in the drawing Department of the textile industry.

Unsuitable working conditions, like bad lighting and ventilation, extremes of tem-

perature and other factors often lead to exhaustion and illness and consequently to absence from work.

Lack of understanding between the worker and the management or between worker and the foreman, and worker and worker causes mental and psychological tension. When the worker is having an internal conflict, he loses all interest in his job and absents himself from work. So the Labour Officer or management should see that there is complete harmony and understanding between one section and another of workers, and try to maintain harmonious relations in the factory premises.

Job placement is very important from the point of view of absenteeism. If the worker is placed on a job for which he is not trained properly, or is psychologically or physically not suitable, then he will not take interest in his work. This leads to discouragement, fatigue, accident and finally to absence.

Lack of proper *medical aid and first aid* is also responsible for absenteeism. If the worker, for every minute ailment or injury has to go elsewhere for first aid or medical help, he will be absent from his job. Similarly when any member of his family, wife or child, falls sick, and if there is no proper arrangement to provide them adequate medical help, he remains absent from work.

Lack of such welfare facilities as canteens, nutritive food, snacks and tea, rest rooms, sanitary conditions etc., will surely increase absenteeism.

Low Wages.—If wages are below the subsistence level, the worker will be forced to seek subsidiary job in order to supplement his earnings. In such a case, he frequently absents himself from his main job.

Besides these various factors, there are also others which lead to absenteeism in industry. Some of these are discussed below.

Bad housing condition is one of the most important factors. A contented labour force that lives near the work place will be an asset to any industry. If the worker has to walk a long distance early in the morning and late in the evening, he feels exhausted and often desires to take rest at home. In such a case, during the rainy season, the worker fails to go to the factory, for want of facilities. And lack of proper transport facilities also affects a worker's attendance at the place of his work. Further lack of marketing facilities near the living place also is reported to partially cause the workers, especially women workers, to absent themselves from work. Besides these, festivals, religious occasions, marriages in the family, etc., keep a worker away from his work frequently.

Another important factor is the desire for rest and enjoyment. The Indian worker feels that he needs rest and without it he thinks that he will fall ill and so he forces himself to rest by feigning sickness.

Drink evil is another important cause for absenteeism. In Bihar and Madras, workers in the mining areas are generally addicted to drink, and the day after pay absenteeism is the highest as many visit the toddy shop, get drunk and fail to report to duty the next day. The weaving community in Sholapur is also reported to be addicted to drink and therefore frequently absent themselves from work.

Absenteeism among married women is frequent, because they have to play the dual role, one as the bread winner, and secondly as the housewife. She has to attend to children, husband and other rela-

vives at home and also work on her job in the mill.

In India as well as in other countries little has been done to meet the situation and bring down the rate of absenteeism. So far the employer is providing few welfare amenities like medical aid, housing, transport and marketing facilities.

Precautions no doubt are being taken to prevent and reduce the incidence of accidents. Measures such as fencing the machinery by railings are being adopted by employers in many cases for the safety of the workers. Though these precautions are taken by the employers, yet very few are giving necessary instructions to the workers, when they are first employed, about the handling of the machinery and precautionary steps they have to take in the course of the performance of their duties.

Every employer has provided medical facilities as required by the Factory Act. In some mills, first aid dispensaries are established and in others regular medical officers and Safety Engineers are appointed to co-ordinate the work of treatment and prevention of accidents and injuries.

The Factories Act laid down the provision for the weekly holidays, rest pauses and leave with pay in order that the workers may have adequate rest and enjoy their social life. But it is found that in practice, the worker is permitted to take leave, not according to his need, but to suit the convenience of the employer. So the workers in many instances are forced to go home without applying for leave. This causes more of unaccountable absenteeism. In some cases, the worker does not inform the employer, even when he is leaving the job in preference to another. So for some time at least he is treated as absent in one factory

though he may have started work in another.

In mica mines and coal mines, there are no facilities whatsoever, to prevent accidents occurring daily due to the falling off of the sides and the roof. Due to inadequate lighting, especially in mica mines, workers have to grope in the dark with small candles in hand; when once these candles are blown out, they cannot proceed further with their work. Many accidents occur due to bad working conditions. Workers should be provided with electric torch lights in the mines.

Little is being done to improve the social condition of the worker and his family. In cities, they live in crowded slums where welfare activities are carried by the municipal authorities just in name.

In case the State or the employer or the community provides a decent standard of living conditions, with all the amenities of recreation, health, sanitation and education for children, within easy reach of the worker and his family, he will not have any occasion to worry when he is on his job. He will concentrate on his work, which will increase his efficiency and thereby production and his earnings as well.

In some industries, the employer is giving profit sharing bonus. In some cases, this bonus is paid on attendance basis, as in the Tata Iron and Steel Company at Jamshedpur. Surely this may be an incentive to the worker. But experience of such bonus systems as attendance bonus, production bonus, efficiency bonus, etc., has shown that it only corrupts the worker and has not improved him, nor has it in any way reduced or solved the problem of absenteeism.

So far no attempt has been made in India to consider and solve this problem of

absenteeism in the right perspective. Whatever measures are adopted by employers in this direction are done, not with a view to mitigating this problem but only to satisfying demands of the workers and only to meeting the provisions of the Factories Act. The problem is not the complete elimination of absenteeism for that is impossible of achievement, but is prevention and control of it.

The following few suggestions may be considered to reduce and control absenteeism in industry.

The employer as well as the worker should have a complete understanding of the difficulties both have to face in industry and should co-operate with each other. The relation between the worker and the foreman must be friendly. The foreman must have a humanitarian and sympathetic attitude towards the workers under his charge, and should not irritate them. The employer should select such trained supervisory staff who are capable of handling the situation in the right way.

Whenever a worker is absent, the Personnel Officer or his staff should visit the worker at his place of residence in a friendly approach and find out the cause of his absence and give all necessary advice and help. He should not hurt the worker's feelings and give him scope to think that he is doing all this in the interests of the management. For this, every factory should employ trained personnel staff with modern outlook. The worker should be made to feel that he is one of the entire organization and has equal responsibilities in the production and working of the industry. He must be made to feel that he is contributing a valuable part in the promotion of the interests and welfare of his nation. A study of a worker's attitude towards his

work, fellow workers, supervisors and the effect of external factors on his attitudes is very important if the rate of absenteeism has to be reduced.

Selection of a right type of person for the right job is most important in an industry. The Personnel Officer must know the job requirements and how to select the right man. There are many misfits in every factory. Due to improper and wrong selection, a person who will be more suitable to work in a particular job, may be employed on some other job in which he finds no interest and thereby frequently absents himself from work. After employment, the personnel department should study and investigate with the help of the Engineer or foreman whether the worker is suitable for the job; if not he should be immediately changed to another suitable job.

The wage level should be raised, so that the worker has no financial worries when he is on the job. If he has to think of how to pay his medical bills and for the education of children, and such other problems, he will not attend to his work pro-

perly. The employer or the community should give him facilities to borrow in cases of emergencies at low rate or no rate of interest by starting co-operative credit societies and also by giving loans from his provident fund.

Adequate marketing facilities within the reach of the worker and his family will also help to bring down the rate of absenteeism. Co-operative Consumer Stores should be started nearer the working class localities.

The worker should be diverted from the drink evil, which accounts for a large percentage of absenteeism. As there is no other way of amusement and diversion provided by either the employer or the community or the State, he straight away goes to the toddy shop. The introduction of prohibition alone will not solve the problem; he must be given some other amusement or activity to recreate his mind and body and relieve him from fatigue and emotional tensions. Though it is the responsibility of the State, the employer and the community should help him in this by providing recreational facilities during his leisure hours.

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INDUSTRIAL HOUSING

R. C. DAS

Working class housing in India is far from satisfactory. General schemes have been made and suggested for improving housing conditions in the country but so far little has been done in the direction of improvement of the situation. The writer in this article studies the situation and suggests ways and means of meeting it.

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Housing is an elementary necessity of life. In congested cities, its value and importance becomes next to food. It can be said that the full economic and social significance of good housing has not yet been appreciated in this country. With the exception of a few, housing to many employers here has meant little more than a mere erection of walls of bricks and mortar or bricks and mud in a more or less symmetrical form. Modern housing, as described by Catherine Bauer* has certain qualities and embodies certain methods and purposes which distinguish it sharply from the typical residential environment of the past century. For one thing, it is built, for efficient use over a period of years; and therefore it is not designed primarily for quick profits. It is planned, and so it must be non-speculative. This new housing method recognises that the integral unit for planning the economic unit for construction and administration and social unit for living is the complete neighbourhood designed and equipped as such. Modern housing does not, therefore constitute a mere mechanical extension of streets and agglomeration of individual, competitive dwellings. It has a beginning and an end, and some sort of visible organic form. One part is related to another part, and each part serves a particular predestined use. It can never deteriorate into a slum or a 'lighted area' or a case for expensive remedial 'city planning'. Moreover, modern housing provides certain minimum amenities for every dwelling. Cross-ventilation for one thing;

sunlight, quiet and pleasant outlook from every window, adequate privacy, space and sanitary facilities and an adjacent children's play ground. And finally it will be available at a price which citizens of average income or less can afford. How many workmen's quarters are there in India which might be termed modern? Perhaps, none at all or so few that their number is like a drop in the ocean.

Now we shall proceed to describe in some detail housing conditions in some principal urban areas, taking a bird's eye view of the position in regard to different industries therein.

Bombay.—After the partition of India, the population of Bombay increased enormously. It stood at 11,61,333 in 1931, 14,89,883 in 1941, and at about 20 lakhs at the close of the Second World War. Thus population rapidly increased in Bombay but there has not been a proportionate increase in the number of houses. Hence the problem of housing has become acute. The typical working class dwelling in Bombay is the '*Chawl*', a pucca building, 3 to 4 storeys high, with a central passage or a common verandah leading generally to one room tenements. If an average of more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ persons per room be taken as an indication of overcrowding, 96% of the population of Bombay may be said to be living in overcrowded tenements and housed so inadequately that the streets have to be used to supplement their sleeping accommodation.

*Catherine Bauer: *Modern Housing* p. xv.

The following sections of the city show the worst forms of overcrowding. Byculla, with 99% of the families living in single-room tenements, Sewri 89%, Mazagaon and Parel with 88% and Second Nagpada with 87%. The workers in Bombay live in mud huts thatched with coconut leaves, in corrugated iron sheds and in tenements or chawls. The tenements are standardised slums, dark and overcrowded with unsatisfactory and inadequate facilities of water supply and sanitation. The following table will show the distribution of taps in the old and new tenements of Bombay

The chawls contain 16,244 living rooms and 300 shops. The rent charged is as follows:—

Area	Rent per room per month.
	Rs.
Worli .	5
Naigaum .	7
Delisle Road	8
Sewri .	7

Corporation Chawls.—The Bombay City Improvement Trust built 2045 tenements on behalf of 4 Textile Mills in the city under the Improvement Trust Act. The Trust also constructed 9,330 tenements and 2800 Semi-permanent sheds which are occupied by the Textile workers in the city. The rents in the chawls vary from Rs. 4/15 to Rs. 10/8 and that of the sheds from Rs. 2/8 to Rs. 6/-. Besides this, the Bombay Corporation owns in the estates acquired by the Old Improvement Trust, chawls consisting of nearly 5000 one room

kerosene oil lamps are used inside the houses. There are 17 water storage tanks in the colony; but still there is inadequacy of water supply. Common bathrooms, latrines and washing place have been provided for each block of houses. The general sanitation is poor as open drains pass through the centre with houses on both sides. The rents are Rs. 3/4, Rs. 6/-, and Rs. 5/-, for scavengers, engineering employees, and railway employees respectively. The second housing colony at Wadi Bunder consists of 7 chawls. This colony houses two types of workers, scavengers and sweepers and other workers. There are 196 residential units for scavengers, consisting of a single room and a common passage, while the general body of workers are housed in four five-storeyed chawls, built of concrete consisting of about 200 residential units of double row type, with a central corridor 8' wide. All these quarters are single room tenements with a floor area of about 120 sq. feet each. The average number of persons occupying a room is sometimes as high as 12. Congestion is still more intensified by the habit of some families taking in paying guests. Tap-water is available only on the ground floor. Only 8 latrines and 8 bathrooms are provided for each floor. In addition to these two colonies, the Port Trust has built about 525 single, double and three-room quarters at various places in the Port area, Carnac Bunder and Wadala.

Textile Mill Chawls.—Twentyone mills in Bombay have provided quarters for their workers in 4,301 tenements. Of these, 3,354 are single-roomed, 939 double-roomed and 8 with three or more rooms. All these tenements are located in 166 chawls generally built near the Mills. The majority of the rooms are 10 square feet. Arrangements for water supply and sanitation are

common. Electric light is supplied in the corridors.

Private Chawls.—Of the families covered 91.24% live in one-room tenements and the average number of persons residing in each such tenement is 3.84. The approximate floor space is 103.23 sq. feet. The average monthly rent is Rs. 6-14-4, for one-room tenement. Latrines and bathrooms are deficient. Ventilation and sanitary conditions are unsatisfactory.

Ahmedabad.—The Government have not provided any housing in Ahmedabad. The Municipality has built tenements for Harijans and others. Each tenement comprises of one room (144 sq. feet), one kitchen (64 sq. feet) and an open verandah, all in a single-storeyed structure and the average number of inmates is 4 to 5. No bathrooms are provided.

Ahmedabad Mills Housing Company has built 800 tenements for the workers. Each tenement consists of a room (14' \times 12'), a kitchen (12' \times 6') and a verandah (7' \times 12'). The rent charged is Rs. 4/8 per month. Sanitation, water supply, ventilation and cleanliness are not so satisfactory.

The Textile Labour Association, Co-operative Housing Societies, and other private agencies have also contributed many tenements. The rents vary from Rs. 4/12 to 7/8. In 5,669 tenements there is absolutely no provision for water. Out of 23,706 tenements, 5,360 have no latrines at all. In the remainder, the arrangement is grossly insanitary and inadequate. The following table gives a comparative idea of working class housing condition in three industrial centres of the Bombay State:—

Centre	No. of employ- ers pro- viding Housing	No. of Total			3
		No. of Ten- ants	Single Room	Double Room	
Bombay	21	4,301	3,354	939	
Ahmedabad	28	2,749	2,282	467	
Sholapur	5	1,547	1,238	219	90

Calcutta.—A large majority of workers live in dark, damp, leaky huts in *bustees*. A 'bustee' or native village generally consists of a mass of huts constructed without any plan or arrangement, without roads, without drains, ill-ventilated and never cleared. Most of these villages are the abodes of misery, vice, and filth and therefore breeding places of sickness, disease and death. Many stagnant ponds are found in these *bustees*. The zamindars have built these *bustees* which are an unplanned muddle of single rooms or huts, built *en masse* to utilise the available space to the utmost extent. The size of a room including the so-called verandah is about 80 sq. feet, and it provides accommodation for 9 persons. There is hardly any provision for kitchens. In 83% of cases, the kitchen is located in the bedroom. In 1945, His Excellency the Governor of Bengal, Mr. R. G. Casey, was reported to have said, "I have been horrified by what I have seen. Human beings cannot allow other human beings to continue to exist under these conditions." There are about 4,940 *bustees* in Calcutta, covering an area equal to one third of the city. The population in these localities is over a million.

The quarters provided by the employers are usually near the places of work. The structures, mostly back to back, are normally of brick walls and the floors, brick-paved or *katcha*. Latrines are insufficient and dirty; ventilation is unsatisfactory.

Jute Mill Quarters.—Information obtained by the Indian Jute Mills Association from 61 Mills shows that the percentage of workers housed by individual mills varies from 7.9 to 100 and the total number of rooms and quarters supplied for this purpose comes to about 42,466. The houses provided are either *katcha* or *pucca*, and are usually of the back to back barrack

type, with common verandah, about 3 ft. wide, a portion of which is used as kitchen. It is found that in 94% of the places the floor space available to a worker and his family is less than 100 sq. feet. Generally the rooms are badly lighted and ventilation is altogether inadequate. Sanitary and latrine arrangements are unsatisfactory. In recent years, the Birla Jute Mills Colony has housed about 43% of the employees in *pucca* quarters numbering about 1,200.

Out of the 9,556 Cotton Textile Mill workers, 45 per cent have been housed. The houses consist of one-room tenements built in barrack form, without proper ventilation. Arrangements for water and sanitation are wholly insufficient.

Nearly 40% of the workers employed by the Port Commissioners are provided with free quarters. All the quarters are for single men, and comprise single rooms, about 45 sq. feet and a verandah. They are *pucca* structures with brick walls, tile and corrugated iron sheet roofs and cement floors. Lighting and ventilation are fairly good. So are supply of water and sanitation.

The Indian General Navigation and Railway Company, the Howrah Trading Company, a few of the chemical works, cigarette and glass factories and some other concerns provide houses for a certain proportion of their workers. The density per room is fairly high and ventilation and sanitation are not satisfactory.

Kanpur.—The Improvement Trust has constructed 2,400 family quarters. Each quarter contains one living room (12'X9'), one verandah (12'X7') with a courtyard (12'X7'). Rent is Rs. 4/- per month.

The Municipality also has constructed 208 quarters and about 500 workers live

in them. Single rooms are generally 10'×8' and the verandah 8'×5'. Common Water taps and latrines for males and females separately are provided. In many cases, more than one family occupy a quarter. More than 3,100 quarters have been provided by the employers. The sanitary conditions are not bad.

Some 40,000 workers of Kanpur live in the slum areas called *ahatas*, owned by private landlords. Most of the houses consist of a single room 8'×10' with or without verandah and such dwellings are frequently shared by two, three or four families. About 96% of the workers live in one-room or two-room dwellings. On an average as many as 13 to 15 persons live in each tenement. About 70% of the rooms have each one door only. Forty-six per cent of the families depend on public taps for water. No latrine arrangements exist for 26%, each public latrine having average pressure of 761 persons. Eighty-six per cent of the families pay rents below Rs. 3-8-0 per month, while 62% pay between Rs. 1-8-0 and Rs. 3-8-0 per month.

Madras.—Housing conditions in Madras are equally unsatisfactory. Most of the workers live in single rooms with or without a small verandah. There are about 200 *cheries*, of which more than half are owned by private individuals, 26 by the Government, 25 by Corporation and 27 by Trusts. The *cheries* are small colonies of thatched huts, having no sanitary facilities. In these are quartered about one-third of the population of Madras. A recent survey has revealed that 35 *cheries* where about 15,000 persons live are not provided with municipal water supply. One hundred and thirty-four *cheries* occupied by 183,000 persons have only 460 water taps. Only 12 *cheries* have an adequate supply of taps. In

respect of latrines, 72 *cheries* have none at all, while 109 have 121 latrines with about 1,200 seats. It has been calculated that 19% of the income of the working classes goes for rent. The average size of the hut is 8'×6'. The sanitary conditions are very bad. Mahatma Gandhi described the *cheries* as "a place unfit for human habitation." The *cheries* are built on low lying lands without adequate drainage.

Conditions of housing are markedly superior in the four villages established in Madras by the Buckingham & Carnatic Mills, with about 659 houses. The houses normally consist of a living room, a kitchen, a washing place and front verandah and a yard.

Jamshedpur.—The population of Jamshedpur is about 1,65,000 and the housing accommodation is far short of actual demand. The Tata Iron and Steel Company has so far built 8,428 quarters to accommodate about 34% of their employees. These houses are all *pucca*. All family quarters are provided with a bathroom (4'×4'). In one-room tenements, no separate bathrooms are provided. With the exception of one-room tenements, all quarters are provided with flush latrines and electric lighting, good ventilation and water supply.

Housing in Plantations.—Labour in Tea gardens of Assam falls into two classes: settled labour living on the gardens and bustee labour living in an adjacent village, who work irregularly and at particular seasons. Houses are provided by the planters to settled labour only. Generally the garden authorities arrange the actual building of the houses, but in some cases, labourers build their own houses with the material supplied to them by the garden authorities. When this is done, labour is paid for the time spent in building the house.

There are two main types of housing arrangements. On some gardens, there are barrack lines, i.e., houses are built in a line, though each house has its own separate compound; in some cases, two houses are in the same compound. On some gardens, houses are clustered together in a village, while both systems are in force on others.

There are three main types of houses: (a) Entirely *kutcha*, made of bamboos, plaster and ekra, i.e., split bamboo walls, mud floor and thatched roof; (b) semi-*pucca*, of brick plinth, brick walls, for the first few feet, upper part of the wall ekra or plaster, corrugated iron sheet or thatched roof; (c) *pucca*, brick or cement plinth, brick wall, metal frame and corrugated iron roofing.

About 90% of the houses in the gardens are of the *kutcha* type. Many labourers, however, prefer the thatched house as it is cooler in the hot weather and warmer in the winter. The average size of a house is 15'×12'. Six persons including children are considered as being the maximum for one house. *Kutcha* houses have generally no windows or verandahs. *Pucca* houses have only one window.

No rent is charged for the houses. Water supply is generally adequate. The most usual method is still by open surface wells. *Kutcha* drains are generally common in the lines and *pucca* drains are a rarity. Ninety per cent of the gardens provide no latrines for their workers. The usual defects of congestion, lack of lighting, ventilation and insanitation are obvious.

In Bengal also, housing is provided on all estates to the settled or resident labour. As in Assam, here also the houses are built in rows. The average size of a house is 225 sq. ft. One house is given to each

labourer and no rent is charged. The roofs are low and lighting is insufficient. There is a complete absence of proper drainage in all the lines in the gardens.

In South India, free housing is provided for all workers other than casual and local labour. The usual accommodation consists of a room 12'×10' or 10'×10' in a block comprising 5 to 10 rooms. In most of the recently built lines in the important tea districts, a kitchen (12'×6') is also provided for every room. Chimneys are provided in the kitchen in the new lines. The new types of houses have roofs of tiles or asbestos sheets. Although most of the recently built houses have kitchens, there is not even a single instance in the tea gardens in South India, where both the living room and the kitchen are allotted to the same family. The general practice on the other hand is to house one family consisting of husband, wife and children in the kitchen and to accommodate two families in the living room. Some people live even in verandahs. Sometimes upto 14 persons live in a room (10'×12'). Water is obtained from springs and latrines are not provided.

The housing conditions in coffee estates are generally bad. Back to back barracks built long ago house the workers. The rooms are 10'×10' or 10'×8' with no windows for light and air. The doors are low and narrow. There are no verandahs. Some newly built houses are of brick and mortar, and the kitchen 12'×6' and the verandah 6'×6'. Bathrooms are not provided. Even pipes for water supply are rarely found on the coffee estates and the workers have to depend on wells and springs. No latrines are provided.

On rubber estates also the quarters are generally built in barracks. The houses are generally provided with large windows.

Six to eight persons occupy a room $12' \times 10'$ or $10' \times 10'$. The houses are built in blocks of two quarters, each quarter having a front verandah, a kitchen and a bathroom. Water taps and latrines are provided. In smaller estates, these facilities are not provided. These estates do not provide latrines. Water supply is generally from open wells, streams and rivers.

Housing in Mining Industries.—The *dhowrahs* or miners' quarters in the coal fields are built usually by colliery proprietors for the purpose of maintaining a minimum permanent labour force required by them.* About 15 to 20 per cent of workers come from the villages nearby and would not stay in the *dhowrahs*. In the colliery *dhowrahs*, 85% of the miners families live in one room houses and 10% in two-room, 3% in three-room and only 2% in four-room houses. A *dhowrah* is often occupied by 12 to 15 persons. The average number of persons living in a room is 5. In Jharia coal fields, there are 29,000 *dhowrahs*, and still they are not sufficient for the workers some of whom come from the neighbouring villages. Taps are very few and so miners have to depend upon wells and streams for water. Rent is not charged.

In the Mica Mines in Bihar, houses are built entirely of bamboo and grass. The houses are $30' \times 8' \times 5\frac{1}{2}'$. The walls are made of bamboos and the roof of green leaves. There are no latrines provided.

By the end of June 1944, the gold mines (Kolar Gold Field) had provided 12,348 huts for their workers. Of these 10,404 are of bamboo thatties, 1,358 in reinforced concrete and 586 in masonry. The huts are either single or double-roomed. They are constructed in lines but are independent. The average number of persons per hut

is 5.25. The lines are electrically lighted and water is laid on at convenient spots. The rent varies from Re. 1/- to 1/4. For a total working population of 30,000, only 215 latrines with nearly 15,000 seats are provided. The condition in these huts is extremely unsatisfactory.

In the iron ore industry also, housing condition is not satisfactory. The average number of occupants in the houses provided is 5. Houses are provided both by the companies and the contractors.

The Madhya Pradesh Manganese Company has constructed some barracks for the workers in the manganese mines. Each room is $10' \times 10'$, with a verandah $10' \times 6'$. Latrines and urinals are not provided in the camps. The housing condition is not satisfactory.

Housing of Railway Employees.—Most of the railway administrations have provided houses to their workers; but more than 75% employed in workshops do not enjoy the benefit of such accommodation. Railway quarters are usually occupied by the other staff. The rent per month varies from Rs. 1-12-0 to Rs. 80/-. The density of occupancy in one room dwellings is highest among the railway workers.

A rough idea has been given above of housing conditions of workers in some major industries in India. It is on the whole very unsatisfactory. A study of working class housing in a few industrially developed countries abroad will serve as a pointer to the lines on which working class housing in India has to be improved.

In England, the Whitley Act of 1924 provides for no more than 8 houses per acre in the agricultural parishes and 12 per acre in the towns. A three-bedroom cottage is being increasingly advocated and

*Dr. R. K. Mukherjee—Indian Working Class, p. 280

considered essential for a normal family. Only for newly married couple or old men whose children have left home is the humble two-bedroom cottage provided. The Town Planning and Housing Act, 1909, made it obligatory on local authorities to construct houses whenever a shortage of houses existed. The Housing of the Working Class Act of 1890 gave powers to deal with insanitary or obstructive houses and localities and provided for the giving of loans to finance the construction of houses by local authorities, public utility societies or individuals. After 1924, subsidy of £9 per year for 40 yds. was granted.

In Germany, Reichstag and the Prussian Diet has spent large sums of money in constructing houses for working classes and in bestowing lavish grants-in-aid, advances and loans to co-operative societies for construction of houses. In 1922 and 1923, new housing acts were passed to regulate rent acts and regulations. But the modern socialistic tendencies induced the Government to promulgate strict regulations with regard to the housing of not only the working class but also of other sections in the community.

The United States of America has thorough-going legislation in practically all the States to regulate construction of new houses and to improve the sanitary condition of the existing buildings. After the second World War, a great number of houses has been constructed in the country.

Canada also progressed with town planning acts in most of the provinces. France, Belgium, Norway, Sweden, Denmark—all the countries have similarly improved their housing conditions. In England, America and practically every other advanced country the living together of two persons or more is considered overcrowding. In Russia, house planning concerns the community

as a whole. In western countries, the growing tendency is to prevent overcrowding of population.

Significance of Housing Conditions in India.—Those who blame our workers for absenteeism do not realise that more than 80% of absenteeism is due to sickness caused by bad housing conditions and under-nourishment. Housing has got a direct bearing on family life and therefore on labour turnover, on sex disparity and on domestic economy. It is hence a determining factor in labour efficiency. One important factor is that the labourer, due to bad housing, is seldom able to keep his family with him. Therefore, he always appears to be home sick. This not only means a proportionate loss in wages but equally affects his efficiency. Moreover, many workers who cannot go home most often go to the prostitutes to satisfy their sexual hunger and consequently suffer from venereal diseases. Due to overcrowding there is no privacy, and segregation between the sexes is hardly possible; hence prostitution becomes common. Bad housing conditions cause lowering of health, morals and standards of living. They also cause high mortality among the working classes. Infant mortality especially is very high in working class areas. This is mainly caused by great congestion and inadequate and insanitary housing conditions. The following table will prove that better housing conditions lessen the infant death rate:—

Effect of housing conditions on infant mortality:

No. of rooms	1936	1937	Percentage of infant mortality in 1936	Percentage of infant mortality in 1937
Roadside	26	29	0.3,	0.3
1 Room	7,004	6,823	78.3	78.5
2 Rooms	1,328	1,298	14.8	14.9
3 Rooms	351	319	4.0	3.7
4 Rooms	168	141	1.8	1.7

Causes of bad housing conditions.—Limitations of space and high land values are responsible for much of the congestion in large cities. But these factors have had less influence in the smaller towns. Probably, the most important common feature has been the lack of control over the selection of proper sites for factories. Establishment of factories in central parts causes additional overcrowding. The presence of large numbers of immigrant workers seeking accommodation in the heart of towns already suffering from a shortage of houses creates great problems.

According to Bernard J. Newman, in the social and economic field to which the housing problem properly belongs, there are two groups of causes, firstly those which are predisposing, and secondly those which are exciting. The predisposing causes may or may not produce bad housing, but, if present when exciting causes occur, they tend to create or intensify such conditions. The exciting causes are those which inevitably produce bad housing. Thus, for example, low income is predisposing cause. It becomes an exciting cause when there is an inadequate supply of suitable accommodation which families of low income can afford to rent. High protective tariffs may be predisposing cause. High wages in the construction industry not accompanied by high wages in other industries likewise is a predisposing cause. Each may be contributory to bad housing if other causes are present.

While economic causes force many families to live in slums, yet many of their families would make slums out of good houses, because they are ignorant of the principles of hygiene and know little about the right use of sanitary equipment. Then, prejudice, fears, greed, and nomadic impulses accentuate the housing problem.

Steps taken so far to meet the problem.—It will be pertinent here to consider the steps that have been taken to meet the housing problem in India. In April, 1948, the Government of India as part of their industrial policy, announced a decision to construct one million houses for industrial workers, in 10 years, and to constitute a housing board for this purpose. The Union Government promised to advance two thirds of the capital cost in the form of 25 years loan, free of interest, the remaining one-third to be provided by the Governments of the States, or an employer sponsored by the latter. The standard of housing as well as the areas in which houses are to be constructed would be subject to the approval of Government of India. Both the employer and the worker would contribute towards the cost of housing in the form of rent, the employer being charged a maximum of 3% of the total cost of each of the quarters allotted to his workers, and the worker upto the maximum of 20% of his wage or 2½% of the total cost of the dwelling whichever is lower. In October 1948, a separate Department of Housing was set up in the Central Ministry of Health with the primary function of carrying out Research in housing and helping in the formulation of all-India policy in regard to town planning. Considerable attention has also been paid to the possibility of speeding up construction and reducing costs by the use of prefabricated building material. And it was reported in March 1949, that the Government of India had entered into an agreement with a foreign firm for the setting up of a plant in Delhi for the manufacture of prefabricated houses with a production target of 100 houses per week, each house covering an area of 500 sq. ft. and costing about Rs. 2,500/- An interesting development in this field in India during recent years has

been the collection of special levy on the products of particular industries to finance welfare measures, including the provision of housing for the workers in those industries. A Coal Mines Labour Housing Board, consisting of two Government representatives and three representatives each of the mine-owners and workers has been set up. The housing programme for the coal mines aims at the construction of 500,000 houses for miners including centralised townships in the major colliery areas in Bihar (31,000) Bengal (15,000) and Madhya Pradesh (35,000). Among the States, Bombay appears to have made the greater progress. In the State, a Housing Board has been set up to develop land, to prepare and execute schemes for the housing of industrial workers and low income groups and to re-organise and develop the building industry. The State Government has in hand a programme for the construction of 125,000 tenements in the main industrial towns in the State, of which 15,000 will be constructed directly by the Government and the rest by the local bodies, co-operative organisations, employers and private builders with Government assistance. Co-operative housing schemes have made considerable progress in the Madras State.

The broad features of the five year programme of the Bombay Government are the abolition of one room tenements, construction of dormitories and hostels for single persons and tenements to suit all sizes of families, and fixing rents to suit the pockets of the low income groups. The different types of tenements proposed to be erected are the following:*

(A) *Hostels & Dormitories*.—In hostels, there will be a cubicle for each person 11.3'X9' in size, having a carpet area of

101 sq. ft. Each room will accommodate 10 persons. Provision will be made at the rate of 60 sq. ft., of carpet area per person.

(B) Tenements for small families, i.e., for family units of not more than two adults and two children. Each tenement will have an area of 195 sq. ft., consisting of a living room of 135 sq. ft. and a kitchen of 60 sq. ft.

(C) Tenements for medium size family, i.e., for family units of not more than 3 adults and 2 children. Each tenement will have an area of 320 sq. ft., consisting of 2 living rooms, 120 & 100 sq. ft., and a kitchen 100 sq. ft.

(D) Tenements for larger families.—The area of each tenement will consist of 444 sq. ft., containing two living rooms of 168 sq. ft. each, and a kitchen of 108 sq. ft. The following table will give an idea of the tenements so far built under the scheme and the rate of rents charged:*

Type	Rent per Month	Percentage of cost of 15,000 tenements.
A	Cubicle 4 Dormitory 2/8	10%
B	8/-	40%
C	10/-	40%
D	11/-	10%

Suggestions for Improvement.—Various methods can be suggested to improve the housing conditions. Each unit or group of units should be provided with open spaces for recreation, dispensaries, small hospitals and maternity homes, nurseries, and creches, educational centres including reading rooms, libraries, radio and cinema. Consumers societies should be formed to meet the workers' needs at cheapest prices. The

*Indian Labour Gazette. Oct., 1947.

State has to bear great responsibility to better the conditions of the workers.

In congested parts of cities, no licenses for the erection of new factories should be given. The Government must have full powers to acquire the land needed for town planning and building purposes. And finally a central trust should supervise the material used and the cost of building. Industrial towns have to be planned deliberately for industrial efficiency, civic beauty and human happiness. The plans must permit extension without distortion, and must provide for the residential section sufficient space to maintain the privacy of family life.

One-room tenements should no longer be permitted to be built either in or outside the city for family occupation and the kitchen should always be separate from the living room.

The workers' houses should in future, comprise two rooms, a kitchen, a lavatory with verandahs on both sides. But, "there are no absolute and universal standards of living and it is impossible to develop such standards".* Because the specific requirements and standards of comfort vary greatly. Principles, such as, "adequate light and ventilation, adequate living space so as to

avoid frictions, which arise from overcrowding, allotment of land sufficiently large for general use by the family and adequate and well designed living space with modern equipment for all functions so as to reduce work and eliminate household drudgery", should determine future housing of workers in this country. At present, the Government, Employers and Labour—all should contribute to accelerate the provisions of proper housing. Further, a regional dispersal of industries and industrial housing is a great necessity. Strict Housing Regulations are also essential to prescribe the maximum height of buildings, their character, depth, structure, ventilation etc., as well as density of houses per acre.

If the worker can be placed in a healthier and more wholesome environment, his thrift and moral restraint will be revived and he will have a new desire for improvement of his standard of living, now repressed by the denial of those elementary attractions and amenities which he associates with his house in the village. Improved housing is the first step towards the improvement of the standards of living, behaviour and morals of the Indian industrial worker. With these will come the conquest of preventable diseases and improvement of health and output of the worker.

*Housing & Employment—I. L. O., 1948.

TRAINING FOR EFFICIENCY

MRS. S. K. BAJAJ

India suffers from a shortage of trained skilled personnel to man the various responsible positions in her industries. This has been mainly due to the fact that no planned and co-ordinated effort has so far been made to impart technical training to workers in the country. While analysing the causes for this situation in India, the author, in this article, makes a comparative study of training programmes obtaining in some industrially advanced countries in the West. A plan for technical training in India is also suggested.

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At a time when India is embarking on a long-range programme of industrial development to stabilise her national economy and increase the national prosperity of her teeming millions, the value, importance and urgency of training of and equipping the rank-and-file workers to fill various positions in industry, can hardly be over-emphasised. During the last quarter of a century or more, India has made considerable strides in the development of her large-scale industries, particularly in the field of cotton and jute textiles, iron and steel, cement, sugar, glass, leather and chemicals. Recent additions to the list of Indian industries are aircraft, automobiles, locomotives, ship-building and the manufacture of machinery and machine tools. Plans for establishing several others are also on the anvil. But the present low standard of efficiency of the average Indian labourer not only constitutes a challenge to the further advancement of industry, but even seems to retard the growth of the existing units, if left exposed to the full blast of foreign competition. Even the cotton textile industry which is a leading industry in India, almost a hundred years old, and which has the peculiar advantage of having on its very door-step ample supply of raw materials, cheap labour and an extensive domestic market, still needs, to be shielded by high protective tariff.

Leading industrialists of India often complain that Indian labour is inefficient,

lacks the power of sustained effort, is given to frequent absenteeism, is addicted to the habit of loitering and wasting time during working hours and is lacking in a sense of discipline. Writing in the Golden Jubilee Souvenir of the Indian Textile Journal in 1940, Sir Homy P. Mody remarked, "The problem for Indian industries.....resolves itself into one of greater efficiency. Indian labour is commonly supposed to be cheap, and if wages in terms of money are alone taken into calculation, there would be justification for the belief. Judged, however, in their relation to a given unit of production, wages in India are definitely high, compared to those in countries with which she must compete. The first condition of further progress must therefore be an improvement in the efficiency of labour".

The level of efficiency of an average worker is far below that of his counterpart in other industrialised countries of the world. At the fourteenth annual meeting of the All-India Organization of Industrial Employers, held in New Delhi, on April 21, 1947, the President, in his address, stated that an average Indian employee did not only produce much less than his contemporary fellow-workers in other countries, but was producing less than what he was doing in the past. In support of his statement, he said, "The productivity of the Indian textile worker is just slightly over $\frac{1}{3}$ of that of his fellow-worker in the U. S. A., less than $\frac{1}{2}$ of that in the U. K.,

and Germany, and less than $\frac{1}{2}$ of that in Japan, Switzerland, Italy, France, and the Netherlands". In respect of colliery labour the output of an Indian miner was said to be less than 20 per cent of that of a miner in the U.S.A., 33 per cent of that of Polish miner, and 26 per cent of that of his counterpart in the Netherlands.

Such opinions usually emanate from individual employers who desire to sweat their labour and keep down their wages. In this country, however, very few time and efficiency tests are taken in order to ascertain the efficiency of the worker. It must be realised that efficiency of the worker does not necessarily depend upon the efficiency of the operatives, but is also largely dependent on the efficiency of the machinery, the lay-out of the plant, the conditions of work and the efficiency of the management itself.

It should, however, be pointed out here that the Indian industrial worker is not inherently defective or inefficient. His present inefficiency, of which so many complain, is more the result of many contributing factors. The worker is under-nourished, badly housed, always in debt and does not keep proper health. An average Indian worker's dietary is inadequate in its calorific value and is ill-balanced. The percentage of expenditure on such necessities of life as food-stuffs, clothing and housing requirements constitutes more than half of his expenditure.

Many have testified to the ability of Indian workers. The Royal Commission on Labour (1931) reported, "One is amazed at the amount of work the ordinary Indian can do on the food one knows he lives and the conditions under which he exists". If the same training is given and if the same conditions of work, wages, efficiency

of management and of the mechanical equipment are maintained in India as in other advanced industrial countries, there is no reason to doubt that the efficiency of the average Indian worker will be no less than that of his counterpart elsewhere in the world. Plenty of evidence can be quoted to show that Indian labour wherever it has had sufficient training, has proved itself as capable and efficient as American or British labour. A few years ago, the General Manager of the General Motors Ltd., Bombay, stated that given the preliminary training, the Indian labourer was as efficient as the American worker. Thus, the present inefficiency of Indian labour is more due to the lack of training opportunities in the country as well as due to the methods of recruitment and mismanagement by the industrial employers in the country. Hence, what is required in India to day is a countrywide industrial training programme for labour, improvement of their living and working conditions and an overhaul of management systems.

In India, due to the absence of a separate community of industrial workers, it is common practice today in most mills and factories to recruit any raw hand that offers himself for employment, regardless of his experience, background and ability. Possessing an agricultural background and having no industrial bent, the raw and illiterate recruit enters the factory with a certain amount of nervousness and a lack of knowledge of his place in industry. He is put on the job immediately and for a short period of about three to six months, he tries desperately to 'pick up' whatever knowledge he can by the method of absorption without any direct guidance or supervision from a qualified instructor. Invariably, the senior operator from whom the new recruit tries to learn his work is not

himself in any way qualified to impart correct training, and any instruction he may offer will at best be only patchy and not based on any planned system. Therefore, more often than not, the new recruit will learn and perpetuate bad habits and slipshod methods, which would be difficult to correct at a later stage. All these point to the inevitable conclusion that training of operatives on sound and systematic lines is indispensable if a high degree of efficiency in industry is to be attained and maintained.

Training Schemes Abroad.—A brief description of the systems of "training for and within industry" given in some of the other industrialised countries would be instructive here.

Great Britain.—In Great Britain, a system of 'apprenticeship', not very different from that obtaining in India today, provided until recently all the training even in the most highly skilled industries. Technical education in the modern sense was thus absent. With the recognition of the value of scientific knowledge in the field of manufacturing industry, however, technical institutions were established to supplement the practical training provided by the factories and workshops. Thus industrial education in Great Britain now consists of two parts, each of equal importance, in practical training in factories and workshops and theoretical instruction pertaining to the specific trades in evening schools.

On The Continent.—Trade-Schools or Technical Schools operating during the day form the main feature of the European system of industrial education. Admission to these schools is restricted to those who have already served a certain minimum period of apprenticeship in an industry. Several highly organised institutions with well equipped workshops exist in France to

provide a thorough practical-cum-theoretical training in place of the traditional apprenticeship in industry, which prevailed there as in other European countries. Belgium, Bulgaria, Hungary and other countries have similar systems of training so as to increase the efficiency of the industrial workers.

Other Countries.—Some of the other countries are not far behind in this respect. The Argentine Government has adopted a series of measures during the last few years with a view to improving the condition of young persons in employment and providing suitable apprenticeship courses. With a view to co-ordinating economic reconstruction programmes, the Ministry of Economic Affairs of the National Government of China, promulgated on 13th February 1947, Regulations to promote the training of skilled workers. The regulations aimed at the training of 10,000 skilled workers (International Labour Review Vol. LVI 1947, Aug.). The Government also announced on 29th February 1948, a plan for the development of national vocational education as a contributory measure, in the economic reconstruction of the country (International Labour Review LVIII 1948, July). The Government of Egypt has taken steps for the training of Egyptian technicians abroad and is planning to open industrial centres, where facilities for training would also be provided (International Labour Review LVIII 1948, July). Pakistan is also fully alive to the importance of the question. It decided on 13th February, 1948, to establish immediately a Council for Technical Education. In view of the fact that Pakistan was left with a very small number of first-grade technical institutions, it was felt that for a speedy execution of any plan for industrial development, a considerable re-organisation and extension of the existing facilities for technical education was most

urgent. Industries manned by trained and highly efficient staff and workers could alone progress and prosper.

America.—In the United States of America, many of the large industrial corporations, such as, General Motors, Ford Motor Co., etc., maintain their own technical institutes under a highly qualified staff of instructors for imparting theoretical training to their employees. Smaller companies which do not have the resources to maintain their own technical institutions maintain some form of employee-training programme in their plants for imparting both theoretical training under 'laboratory conditions' and practical training under actual factory conditions. Others have worked out 'co-operative' training arrangements with State owned or public vocational schools, technical institutions and universities, of which there is a large number all over the country, where operatives may receive courses of instruction in these institutions after completing their shift in the factory. Practical training in the United States is of two types—“*On the job*” and “*Vestibule*” training. In the case of training “*On the job*”, a textile worker, for instance, may be started as cleaner and by a process of up-grading may be advanced from one position to another, until he becomes a spinner, having been trained by close contact with the job. Under the “*Vestibule*” system, on the other hand, a part of the machinery and equipment is set aside, on which learners may practise, under the guidance of special instructors. The advantage is that this does not interfere with the normal course of production. Each of these two methods has its own merits as well as demerits. The ‘*Vestibule*’ system is better suited to large plants with a relatively large number of employees, which can afford to maintain separate training section under full time instructors.

Russia.—Russia, in the first five-year plan, had made provision for training one lakh students possessing university education and equipped them with the knowledge of technology and constructional work. They soon realised, however, that their dependence on foreign technicians was not very safe or profitable. Accordingly, in the second five-year plan, provision was made for two lakh specialists possessing university education, and 4,20,000 specialists from the middle technical schools for the service of industry and rural economy.

Shortage of trained personnel in India.—Indian industry suffers from a great shortage of trained technical personnel. The reason for this is firstly, the great apathy of the Government, and secondly, lack of Indian controlled industrial concerns. The foreign firms did not take any interest in training local men, but imported their superior technical staff from abroad. The Government wedded to the *laissez-faire* doctrine, did not pay any attention to the matter; though it was sometime in 1880 that a resolution was adopted by the Government of India calling upon the Provincial Governments to take action to extend facilities for industrial and vocational training, nothing practical was done.

The World War I brought the question of technical training to the forefront. An Industrial Commission was appointed in 1916 which made valuable recommendations.

When World War II came, India was not at all ready to cope with the colossal task of providing the sinews of war, machinery and munitions. India had neither the resources of industry nor enough engineers and skilled and semi-skilled workers. Hence, special measures were found necessary to

train rapidly a large number of workers for different types of skilled trades.

In January, 1942, the Government of India started the first training centre, the Craik Institute at Lahore, with a training capacity of 70 workers. By the end of 1942, 291 centres came into existence with a training capacity of 24,277. By the beginning of 1943, there was provision to give training to 45,000 workers. The scheme was originally organised to solve the difficulty caused by the dearth of technical personnel for the war effort. Therefore, when in 1943, it was realised that the needs of the army were not so urgent, the number of training centres was gradually reduced from 400 to 170 for financial reasons.

Meanwhile, the ordnance factories had been conducting a training scheme of their own. The number of trainees under this scheme was regulated by the demands of the factories.

The most interesting scheme, however, was the Bevin Training Scheme enunciated, in November 1940, by Mr. Bevin, the then Minister of Labour in Britain. The scheme was meant specially for the working classes. Recruitment was to be made preferably from among men of engineering trades and from among students of technical institutions. It was for the first time that such an arrangement was made to enable the Indian artisans to get higher technical training in the U. K. Still they could not reach the same level of efficiency, as the period of training was only 8 months; and a three-year course had to be covered within that short time.

The combined effect of the work of all these schemes was that India came to possess a number of skilled and semi-skilled workers by the end of the World War II. But,

still it was not adequate to satisfy the country's needs. Nor had they sufficient proficiency in their trades. Moreover, all these training schemes were conceived in the context of wartime needs. Hence, further training became essential to fit them for peacetime industry in India. It was, again, training only in engineering trades. As India has to expand in all sectors of her industries it would be very necessary to have trained men not only in mechanical engineering but also in other manufacturing trades.

The available facilities for technical education and training, whether provided by employers or by Government, may be divided into two types: first, those provided for persons already employed, and second, those open to persons who are raw. For those already employed in factories and workshops, the commonest method is personal study and help from colleagues and supervisors. There are also evening classes or part-time courses. Some Government technical schools have organized such classes primarily for workers in factories and workshops.

Railway workshops have a system of apprenticeship training under which lower grade apprentices are trained for skilled employment as workmen and high-grade apprentices are trained for important posts. Lower-grade apprentices receive their training in the workshops; and if they desire further general or technical education, they have to attend evening classes. The Railways maintain a technical school at Jamshedpur and a Railway Staff College at Dehra Dun.

The extent of facilities provided for the general and technical education of workers varies in different industries. While opportunities for training workmen are very

limited in the textile industry, technical education for the workers has been considerably developed by engineering works, coal mines, and railways. Since 1921, Tata Iron & Steel Co., has maintained a technical institute which provides theoretical and practical training for workers selected for positions in the operating departments of the factory. For the workers in the coal-mining industry, classes are conducted at various centres. Three years evening courses have been instituted by the Governments of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa and higher education in coal and metal mining and kindred subjects is given in university and technical schools.

As regards persons who are not yet in employment, some of the Government technical and industrial schools provide facilities for training of boys and skilled workmen.

Higher education in industry and technology is provided by various schools and colleges, which are either special departments of universities or separate institutions. The number of engineering and survey schools and colleges (in 1935-36) was 17, attended by 3,736 students. Besides these, were 515 technical and industrial schools giving instruction to 28,878 students.

Among the elementary schools set up by factory employers, the most important are those of the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills in Madras, the Empress Mills in Nagpur, the British India Corporation in Kanpur, and the Tata Iron and Steel Works at Jamshedpur. The Royal Commission found that in employers' schools, there was a fairly general tendency to concentrate on half-timers. Without desiring to discourage the work done in such schools, the Royal Commission pointed out that half-timers were rarely able or disposed to benefit by these facilities. It suggested, therefore, that it would be in the interest of the employers

to facilitate the education of workers' children who were not employed and thus help in creating a better class of future workers.

Schools also exist in the coal-fields, but there is no co-ordination and the Royal Commission found that success depended very largely on the attitude of the colliery managers. In view of the fact that children under 13 could not be employed in mines, the Royal Commission suggested that compulsory primary education should be introduced in all coal-fields.

In the light of the foregoing observations, the system of training best suited to Indian conditions can be determined.

The first stage in the training of the younger generation of factory workers should start with general basic education which should be made compulsory, at best in urban areas for all children, whatever their ultimate choice of profession may be, and should precede vocational training in any one of the specific trades or occupations. Such liberal education, with a definite industrial bias, extending over a period of at least six years is necessary, in order to equip boys and girls with qualities required for the proper discharge of their duties as citizens of the State. In addition to teaching the three R's, the other aspects of education which should receive adequate attention are the formation of character, the development of personality, physical culture and the cultivation of working habits. These qualities are equally essential for a person to succeed in life and to be of use to society. A sense of responsibility, spirit of service and strict adherence to discipline are some of the qualities which should be inculcated in them in their tender years. Special mention is made of this aspect of primary education for the reason that industrial employers, as pointed above, constantly complain of the

irresponsibility of labour, its indiscipline, and its dilatory habits.

Further, these schools imparting basic education in industrial areas should be equipped with workshops to provide with technical training for boys and girls in different crafts. The scope of these workshops will of necessity be restricted to providing facilities to the children to develop their particular hobbies and to help them in selecting their future vocation under the guidance of their instructors. It should be remembered, however, that the object of these schools should be not to turn out ready made trained labour but to prepare boys and girls for further specialised training, in specific trades and occupations.

After the preliminary basic education the next stage in their training will be to equip them for positions in the various branches of organised industry. Considering the present stage of her industrial development and the limited resources at the disposal of the Government, it may be advisable for India to adopt a system of training more or less similar to the one obtaining in the U. S. A., with modifications to suit her local conditions. In respect of large scale industries, technical institutes should be started and maintained by the large industrial concerns themselves for the benefit of their employees. The curriculum, the course of studies and the duration of training will obviously vary with the nature of each industry.

Therefore, the training programme of each company or a group of companies engaged in similar activities will have to be 'tailor-made' to fit its own requirements. To encourage the establishment of such schools or institutes, the Central Government will have to take the initiative by offering liberal grants-in-aid. They should also

maintain an inspection and direction staff for planning, supervising, trade-testing, and co-ordinating the training activities all over the country in the same way as the Division of Vocational Education and the Apprenticeship Training Service of the Federal Department of Labour operate in the U. S. A. On successful completion of their training, candidates should be awarded certificates of competency, so that, in course of time, the industries may be asked to employ only those holding such certificates.

The training of personnel for small scale (and cottage industries) should be the primary responsibility of the States and Central Governments, which will have to provide vocational schools or polytechnic institutions equipped with workshops for imparting both theoretical and practical training under actual factory conditions.

Trade Unions have not considered this aspect of the labour question at all. They fight for higher wages, shorter hours of work, holidays with pay and so on. They have not submitted a joint demand to the employers or to the Government for provision for proper training facilities for the workers. Trade Unions could organise training programmes of their own for their members—funds permitting. This would indirectly help increase workers' earning capacity. A well trained and efficient labour force will stand a better chance of getting its demands fulfilled. Thus, with the close co-operation of the State and private industry, an efficient system of training for and within industry, may be evolved for turning out a highly skilled and efficient labour force, which would contribute towards national stability by increasing production and towards a higher standard of living, in the country.

LABOUR-MANAGEMENT CO-OPERATION

J. B. SAXENA

Healthy labour-management relations form the basis of industrial peace. Various methods are adopted to build proper relations between workers and employers in the advanced industrial countries of the world. In the following article, these various methods are examined and an estimate is made of their importance in building healthy employer-employee relations.

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Healthy labour-management co-operation in industry is regarded now as one of the surest means of achieving industrial peace and ensuring increased productivity. It will be sound if it rises over and above the organisational structure of the industry. This employer-employee co-operation is now sought to be attained by various means such as profit-sharing, increasing participation by employees in the management of the industry, collective bargaining, joint consultation by means of works committees and others. These methods seek to create in the minds of labour and management an identity of interest in the industry and try to extend the principle of ownership to all connected with it. The advocates of labour-management co-operation hope to develop by these means a feeling of one-ness and mutual interest in the minds of all the partners in the industry.

Profit Sharing.—The oldest form of employee participation is sharing in its profits. The employer agrees to give his employees a share in the net profits of the enterprise in addition to their wages. As a form of incentive to workers, profit-sharing dates back to 1829 in England, 1842 in France and 1870 in the United States. Thus profit-sharing as an incentive to workers has persisted in these countries for over a century.

In instituting profit-sharing schemes, the objectives of management have generally been to promote individual and general

efficiency and develop in the workers a waste-elimination consciousness. It has also sought to create in the employees a sense of ownership and attachment to the industry and give them a feeling of security, thereby reducing labour turnover. Moreover, it has aimed at creating close co-operation and understanding between employers and employees.

Profit-sharing can take several forms. It may be one of cash payments at the end of specified periods, or deferred payment in which case the profits that are divided are placed in a savings account, provident fund or annuity fund or payment in shares of stock. Cash bonus schemes are common in the United States and Great Britain, although deferred participation and stock distribution are also gaining ground of late. Cash payment has been the method of sharing profits but its disadvantage lies in the fact that the employer is not sure of its wise use by workers. Labour prefers this method because bonus is declared at frequent intervals. Cash bonus schemes have comprised about two thirds of the plans introduced in the U. K. and a large percentage of those in the United States, although they appear to have been less satisfactory than stock distribution.

In some establishments, bonus is placed in the account of the employee, from which he can draw at any time on short notice. More often the amount is placed to the workers' credit in a provident or superannua-

tion fund, in which case it is not ordinarily withdrawable while he remains in the service of the firm. It is retained partly or wholly for investment in the enterprise and bears interest varying from 3 to 6 per cent. These savings are returnable to the employee on reaching a certain age, or after the stated period of service, or in an emergency. Usually, workers who leave the service of the company, go on strike, or are dishonourably discharged, are not allowed these benefits, although in some plans, deserving employees who leave on account of ill-health or other good reason receive a part of the savings. This method has not been generally successful in the United States. Because of the more or less indefinite postponement of participation, these schemes have not provided enough incentive.

In some cases, shares of stock are issued to employees in recognition of efficient service for a term of two to five years. A large number of plans provide for the issue of shares to the employees at a price below the market rate, payments to be made in instalments. Under some English schemes, employees holding shares are given a cumulative preferred dividend. In some others, the workers receive dividends without holding regular shares, certificates which are not marketable being given to them. Where shares are issued to employees free or on favourable terms, there is ordinarily a maximum limit to the number of shares set aside for this purpose. In England, the maximum ranges from £250 to £5,000 per person. In the U. S. A., the number of shares allowed each worker differs with different plans, but his earning capacity is the usual basis. The transfer of such shares except to fellow employees is usually prohibited, but the company purchases them in the event of the owner's death or leaving service. Shares purchased by the employees

on special terms do not always carry voting rights. But in both England and the U. S. A., representation on boards of directors is usually allowed to workers holding considerable shares in stock.

Cash Bonuses.—Experience in Great Britain and the U. S. A. has shown that only a small number of workers avail themselves of the opportunity to purchase shares. Cash bonuses on the other hand reach an average of 75 per cent of the employees of the companies with such plans.

The amount of bonus distributed to employees consists of a certain percentage of the net profits of the company in the preceding year, in some cases the distribution is made quarterly or half yearly. Ordinarily the amount to each employee is in proportion to his annual earnings, overtime and piece work being excluded. Allowance is sometimes made for time lost through illness and a reduced bonus is paid to employees with a service record below a certain standard and under a certain age. In England the distribution has ranged from five to fifty per cent of net profits, while in the U. S. A., the amount has averaged at about 12 per cent, of the annual wages. To produce the best results, at least 6 per cent additional income has been found necessary. The most general qualification for participation in profit-sharing plans is a minimum period of service, varying from four weeks to five years, but usually the period is six months or a year. Occasionally employees who have been with the company for less than the minimum period of service one half of the regular bonus or a specified sum, which is usually quite small. Sometimes members of trade unions are denied participation, although in many cases membership in a labour organisation is no bar; in some English schemes membership is compulsory. The provision is often made that employees

shall lose their right to a share in profits if found guilty of unsatisfactory conduct, waste of materials, negligent use of machinery and equipment, irregularity in work or absence without sufficient cause, inefficiency or a breach of discipline.

A noted French economist, Charles Gide, has observed that an even more radical modification of the wage contract than is attempted by profit-sharing would be its transformation into a veritable partnership, giving the worker a share not only in profits but also in administration, responsibility and even losses. This is the aim of advocates of co-partnership, who claim for all the workers participation to some extent in the profits, capital, and control of the industry or business in which they are employed. The Labour Co-partnership Association of Great Britain, which more than any other agency is responsible for the promotion of profit-sharing and co-partnership in that country has given the essentials of co-partnership. It is the duty of the Co-partnership Committee to administer profit-sharing or co-partnership funds, determine wages, hours and conditions of work and adjust grievances and disputes.

How profits are shared.—The method most normally adopted in British schemes has been to pay all ordinary outgoings, set aside reserves, a standard rate of interest on ordinary shares (what is known in the U. S. A., as Common Stock) before any division of ultimate profits takes place. "One of the oldest schemes in England is that of Clarke Nickolls & Coombs Ltd., confectionery manufacturers, which dates from 1890. After all expenses have been paid and reserves made, a dividend of 6% is paid on ordinary shares and 50% of the remaining profits is divided in cash among workers of over one year's service proportionately to their wages and salaries". In the case of

Vauxhall Motors Ltd., (which is associated with the General Motors Ltd.,), after 6% has been paid on the capital invested (estimated from the balance sheet according to a definite formula), 10% of the surplus is allocated to workers of over one year's service in proportion to their earnings, with increases upto 25% for those of fifteen years' service or more. Triplex Safety Glass Co., Ltd., allocates 12½% of the surplus after 10% has been paid on the estimated capital of business (on a basis of assets over liabilities) which is divided in a similar way. These examples are cited to illustrate some general principles.

Loss Sharing.—There are few instances in the U. S. A., in which employees who participate in profit-sharing also share losses by creating a sinking fund to cover deficits in poor years. Personally, I do not endorse sharing of losses by employees. There are several reasons why the workers should not be called upon to share the losses. First, profit-sharing is designed primarily for the division of the differential and not the division of risks. Secondly, workers suffer sufficiently in being compelled to forego the anticipated share in profits. Thirdly, loss sharing is very likely to result in injustice, since the losses incurred may be caused not by the lack of effort or efficiency on the part of the workers but by inefficient administration or management. Fourthly, great discontent arises if the workers, after doing their best, find themselves called upon to share losses. It is unfair to require workers to share losses, since they are constantly forced to accept as a normal burden of industry, curtailment of working time, discharge and other conditions that result in unemployment. Fifthly, economic insecurity in modern industry precludes the possibility of the workers assuming a share in the general losses. The workers will not be able financially to make up the deficits of industry and business. Sixthly,

due to various factors, the income of the average wage-earner is insufficient to provide him a decent standard of living; therefore it will be too much to ask him to share the losses too. The responsibility of loss sharing might be practicable and just where the workers are real partners with management and capital, but this is yet far from realisation.

A survey of profit-sharing in many countries indicates that a high percentage of the plans have been abandoned. In the U. S. A. and Great Britain, it has been mainly due to the inability of the concerns to earn sufficient profits rather than to fundamental deficiencies inherent in the system of profit sharing. The same is true of India too today. Numerous specific causes have operated, such as, death of the employer or change in ownership and management (more than 70% of the textile mills in Bombay have changed hands after the last World War); diminished profits, brought about chiefly by depression and hard times, liquidation or dissolution resulting from inefficient management or disagreement among partners concerning policies of administration; and dissatisfaction with the result of the schemes. The majority of profit-sharing plans have been discontinued because the employers were convinced that the results did not compensate for the financial outlay involved or because the employees became dissatisfied and antagonistic. Recent investigations have shown that in more than half of the schemes abandoned, the prevailing cause was apathy, dissatisfaction, or antagonism of the workers. Labour seems to prefer a fixed rate of higher wages that can be relied upon. It is urged that such schemes as profit-sharing are intended to wean away employees from their unions in order that they may not be in a position to bargain advantageously for higher wages, and shorter work day and improved conditions.

Profit-sharing cannot be considered a panacea for all the ills of industrial society. It by no means constitutes a practical substitution for the wage system, nor does it solve the wage problem. As a stimulus to industrial efficiency, profit-sharing has been less effective than piece rate wages and other forms of progressive wage payment. As usually applied, these schemes are paternalistic. No plan originated and administered by the employer alone can solve our industrial problems. Experience in other countries tells us that the problem of industrial unrest has not disappeared from plants that share profits with their workers; indeed in many cases, these plans have accentuated strife.

Suggestion System.—Another system which is sought to bring closer the employer and the employees is known as "Suggestion System". This may be used with or without an organised programme of employer-employee co-operation. If this system has to be successful, a careful follow up by the management is required. A worker having any suggestion has to fill in a suggestion blank, a specimen of which is given below, and submit to the management. After six months or a year, the best suggestion is awarded a prize, which may be in cash or kind.

SUGGESTION BLANK

From :	X. Y. Co. Ltd.	Ref. No.
Suggestion Blank.		
Recd.	S. No. Date	
I suggest.....	
.....	
.....	
Name.....Clock No.....Dept.....		
..... (Keep this Coupon.)		
Suggested.....	Date S. No.	

Trade Agreements.—Trade agreements not only provide a minute description of basic wages, hours of work, rules and methods of discharge but also frequently cover methods of performing operations. These contracts usually prescribe some neutral arbitrator for settlement of disputes. Trade agreements are usually negotiated between union representatives who may or may not be actual workers in the plant, and those of the management or of the trade association which represents the employers affected. Disputes are ordinarily handled by departmental or plant boards on which both the workers and the employers are represented. They may then be referred to a board for the industry as a whole or a regional board, if more than one plant is involved. Finally, some method of arbitration may be provided for. It may be noted that trade agreements are possible only in industries that are highly organised. Workers in these would rather deal through their union representatives than directly with employers.

Works Committees.—Works committees or joint councils, composed of representatives

of both workers and employers are intended to promote labour-management co-operation. The primary purpose of employee representation on the Works Committees is the promotion of industrial goodwill by creating a better understanding of labour by management, and of management by labour. It is also valuable for purposes of personal contact, if the firm is engaged in welfare projects. From the point of view of workers, employee representation gives them an opportunity to formulate and to present their grievances. Again, Works Committees are fairly effective devices for the enforcement of decisions of boards of adjustment or arbitration. The chief objectives of management in furthering employee representation are higher industrial efficiency and greater production. Again, they lessen the chances of strikes, lockouts and other forms of industrial conflict. In brief, management has come to feel that a contented employee is an asset and that a discontented worker is a liability. The actual working and the details about the functioning of the Works Committees in the U. P. for the years 1948-'49 are given in the Tables I, II and III.

TABLE I.—*Details about the Functioning of Works Committees in U.P. in 1948.**

Sl. No.	Region.	No. of meetings held.	No. of cases filed.	No. of cases decided.		Total.	No. of cases in which the deci- sions of Works Committees have been referred to Regional Conci- liation Board.	No. of cases in which the deci- sions of Works Committees have been given effect to by the Indus- trial Concerns.	
				By unani- mous vote.	Other- wise.				
1	Kanpur	...	393	1,174	813	211	1,024	52	820
2	Meerut	...	345	880	680	76	756	187	582
3	Bareilly	...	147	410	245	156	401	7	131
4	Agra	...	110	359	199	162	361	34	213
5	Lucknow	...	213	923	723	126	849	35	624
6	Allahabad	...	60	92	58	Nil.	58	2	20
7	Gorakhpur	...	309	692	398	92	490	102	310
	Total	...	1,577	4,530	3,116	823	3,939	419	2,700

* Figures collected from the records of the Works Committees from the Office of the Labour Commissioner, Government of Uttar Pradesh.

TABLE II.

*Details about the Functioning of Works Committees in U.P. during 1949 (From 1-1-49 to 31-3-49)**

Sl. No.	Region.	No. of meet- ings held.	No. of cases filed.			No. of cases decided.			No. of cases in which the deci- sions of Works Committees have been refer- red to Regional Conciliation Board.	No. of cases in which the deci- sions of Works Committees have been given effect to by the industrial Concerns.
			Brought forward from 1948.	Filed.	Total.	By unani- mous vote.	Other- wise.	Total.		
1	Kanpur	164	30	418	448	228	125	353	48	201
2	Meerut	171	5	395	400	271	23	294	40	180
3	Bareilly	66	80	174	254	109	79	188	11	105
4	Agra	40	359	98	457	56	42	98	16	56
5	Lucknow	99	15	339	354	264	24	288	48	207
6	Allahabad	42	19	35	54	10	5	15	Nil.	1
7	Gorakhpur	170	12	384	396	202	75	278	161	223
	Total	752	520	1,843	2,363	1,141	373	1,514	324	973

* Figures collected from the records of Works Committees from the Office of the Labour Commissioner, Government of Uttar Pradesh.

TABLE III.

Matters discussed by the Works Committees in Kanpur Textiles.

No.	Matters discussed by the Works Committee.	Decision of the Works Committee.		
		Unanimous.	Otherwise.	
	The method of payment of wages, time, form of ticket, allowance etc.	272	18	
	Dismissal of workers	183	95	
	Appointment of Workmen	12		
	Leave and holidays	108		
	The distribution of working hours (fixation of shifts etc.)	37		
	Questions of discipline and conduct as between the management and workmen	38		
	Settlement of grievances relating to or arising out of terms and conditions in the factory	167		
	Question of physical welfare	96		
	Suggestion for improvement in methods and in organisation of works, ways and means of increasing efficiency ...	50		
	Total	973	113	

The Works Committees are required to meet twice a month, according to their constitution. In emergencies, they can also meet more often to discuss matters of importance.

From the figures given in the above three tables, it appears that in a short term of two years, Works Committees have, on the whole, proved a success in the U. P. Some States like Bombay and Madhya Pradesh are introducing this system. At present, it is only in sixteen textile mills that Works Committees are functioning in Bombay.

Scope of Works Committees.—Although Works Councils and Committees have a special significance in wartime when employees and management have additional responsibilities, such as, civil defence and fire watching, which can only be expected to work smoothly in an atmosphere of mutual confidence and after open discussion, they are important at all times. If sound relations are to be established within a factory, they should be primarily based on a frank recognition of the complementary nature of the functions of the management and workers in the present industrial system. Recent years have seen an extension of Works Councils, especially in the United Kingdom and the United States of America. In many cases, there is a widening of their scope and functions which in itself is evidence of their value in promoting mutual confidence and efficient working within the firm. Indeed, by many the Works Council is regarded as an integral part of the factory organisation.

Works Councils provide a means for representatives of the employers and those of the employees to get together and discuss matters of common concern. They are formed on the basis of agreements between an employer and his employees and differ from trade agreements or agreements between an employer or employers in a given industry

and organised workers within the industry as a whole. Works Committees consider questions of shop rules and grievances, and in addition they often handle matters of efficiency of operation and at times of policies.

The Works Council provides an organised channel through which grievances may be brought up and promptly considered. For instance, the workers of a given department may feel that the time-clock is inaccurate or needs repairs and the foreman may not take prompt action. If the matter can be brought before a Shop Committee or Works Council the time clock will without question be repaired immediately. If the power of Works Councils is extended beyond considering mere routine rules and grievances, the Council together with the personnel department may well handle matters of discharge. Rules relating to causes of discharge may be formulated by the Works Committee and then administered by it. All cases in which, after conference between the foreman and the Personnel Department discharge has been decided upon, can be brought before the Council on request by the employee affected. Such procedure will do much to make the workers feel that they are indeed partners in the enterprise.

When lay-off is necessary, the Works Council can determine most satisfactorily just which of the workers should be affected. Some plants have developed the idea of presenting to Works Committees such matters of basic policy as the production schedule in as much as this directly affects the amount of work available. This procedure would certainly be not advisable until the Works Committee has been in operation for a long time and an experienced group of workers' representatives, able to appreciate the manufacturing and economic conditions involved are available. Works Committees may well consider routine matters relating to pro-

duction, such as, quality, salvage of scrap, safety and general working conditions. To be effective, meetings of Works Committees must be regular and at short intervals.

Such matters as working conditions, accident prevention, health, education, social and recreational activities, discipline, absenteeism and late coming, efficiency suggestions, grievances, salvage and avoidance of waste, and other questions relating to wages and hours of work can be discussed by Works Committees. There should be no hard and fast rule whether the Works Committees should be consultative or executive bodies.

Functions.—The main functions of Works Committees are social, technical, economic, and financial.

Social Functions.—These are twofold. Together with the management, they consider methods of developing a spirit of co-operation within the undertaking and of improving the conditions of work and life of the staff. Secondly, they supervise or administer the social institutions of the undertaking. It will be beneficial to consider how Works Committees function in some other countries.

France.—French law confers no powers of decision upon Works Councils. Their duties are merely "to make suggestions concerning, for instance, a possible better arrangement of hours of work, the fixing and rotation of annual holidays with pay, the equipment of the presses, conditions of health and safety and even, since 1946, certain aspects of wages".

Belgium.—In Belgium, Works Councils have the right to fix the dates of annual holidays and if necessary, to introduce a system of rotation, to draw up and amend general rules of employment within the framework of relevant legislation; to which over the administration of social and in-

dustrial legislation for the protection of the workers and to consider the general principles to be observed in regard to the engagement and dismissal of workers.

Austria.—Works Councils look after the general protection of the workers' interests and of observance of collective agreements and social legislation. According to Austrian legislation, Works Councils (composed solely of representatives of the staff) have also important functions in connection with the termination of contracts of employment.

Social Services.—In Belgium, Works Committees are responsible for administering all the social services established by the undertaking for the welfare of the staff, unless such services are administered independently by the workers themselves.

The Austrian Works Councils have the right to create and administer provident funds and other funds for promoting the welfare of the workers and their families, and they may share the administration of any such funds set up by the owner of the undertaking.

Technical Functions.—Works Councils play an advisory part in the technical sphere. This is analogous to the part played by the production committees. The French law entrusts the Councils with the duty of proposing regard to such workers as are deserving, whose initiative or proposals have rendered their co-operation particularly valuable to the undertaking.

Financial Function.—In the financial sphere, the functions of the Works Councils are in certain cases purely advisory; in other cases, they extend to supervision or even to direct participation in management.

In the first place, they are required to give their opinion and make suggestions on all important measures likely to affect the organization, administration and general

operation of the undertaking. French law goes so far as to state explicitly that in this sphere the Works Councils should be 'compulsorily consulted', but this does not mean that they have a right to oppose the employer's decisions. The Council must also be informed of the profits made by the undertaking and it may make suggestions concerning the use of such profits; it may also give opinion on price increases and may be consulted by the Government for price-fixing and control.

In Belgium, the Works Council auditor has to certify that the factory's accounts are correct. During the meeting at which the documents are considered, the Works Councils may call upon the services of an R. A. or C. A. at the expense of the undertaking.

In Austria and France, the Works Councils of limited liability concerns have the right to appoint two or three members to sit on the Board of Directors; in France, only in an advisory capacity, in Austria with the same rights and responsibilities as other directors.

Limitation of Employee Participation.—Employee participation is not a panacea for all industrial ills. Indeed it is more a preventive method than a curative one for labour disturbances. It may only tend to reduce industrial conflicts. It cannot be expected to produce immediate and lasting results, for it takes time and study to develop skill and competence on the part of management and loyalty and confidence on the part of workers.

The success of employee participation is dependent on intelligent labour leadership

as well as in the sympathy and vision of employers. Great precaution should be taken in the introduction of any such schemes. Many have failed because they were applied without previous attempt to create a sentiment in favour of them among the workers.

Employee participation offers no royal road to industrial peace. No employer should suppose that merely by installing some system of shop representation he can be sure of industrial harmony and increased production. Doubtless there will be failures where the plan is adopted as a panacea. It is only one of many means and only sincerity of purpose, frank dealing and establishment of common interests will bring about mutual advantages.

Conclusion.—In the last few pages, the working of the various schemes which tend to bring management and labour together in harmony have been discussed briefly. In order to create co-operation and a spirit of working for mutual benefit, no one scheme will be enough. If, however, these schemes are worked with a humanitarian spirit and with respect towards each other, much of the industrial unrest can be removed and harmonious relations established.

If Works Committees have to be effective in improving production, then they must be integrated with collective bargaining machinery. To be successful, they must be established in those industrial units in which collective bargaining has been accepted by the management. Representatives on such Committees must be responsible union officials at the plant level and responsible management officials who have the authority to take decisions.

LABOUR WELFARE

M. V. MOORTHY

Labour welfare which forms part of the wider industrial problem is today attracting the attention of both the Government and the public in India. Various programmes of labour welfare are already in existence and new ones are being planned. Dr. Moorthy analyses this problem from a new angle and says that no programme of labour welfare will be effective unless the authorities recognise the labourer as an individual with a personality and as a member of a larger family and community. He also suggests various methods by which labour welfare can be effectively organized in future India.

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Labour Welfare tomorrow, or in the immediate future, will have to be based on the conditions of today. The approach to this problem, as to all such problems, can be many-sided. It can be Utopian and idealistic, liberal or revolutionary. A scientific approach is possible if the present is properly and adequately explored and analysed, and future trends are determined to guide planning. In attempting to suggest the best possible programmes for labour welfare in the immediate future, the problems must be approached practically and factually without any political bias or undue enthusiasm for any 'ism'. Yet this outlook is not opportunistic or purely utilitarian; it will neither leave ideals out of consideration, nor fail to suggest radical alterations in outlook, methods and programmes. In the scientific treatment of a problem, it is possible to eliminate theoretically the impossible, and discuss the possible in terms of real conditions and circumstances. Behind this scientific outlook remains an unalloyed and absolute desire to reach only one uncompromised objective, the real welfare, happiness and benefit of labour.

What is Labour Welfare.—Labour Welfare work is associated, on the negative side, with the counteracting of the baneful effects of the large-scale industrial system of production, especially capitalistic, so far as India is concerned, on the personal, family and social life of the worker. On its positive side, it deals with the providing of opportunities for the worker and his family

for a good life as understood in its most comprehensive sense. This personal objective alone is not adequate. Labour welfare is also fundamentally in the interest of the larger society, as the health, happiness and efficiency of each individual connotes the general well-being of all. Taken thus, labour welfare is an essential part of social welfare. It means the adjustment of the labourer's work-life and family-life to the community and social life around.

The Need for Labour Welfare.—The industrial system of production, as at present organised, is full of harmful effects on the worker's life and actively interferes with his normal well-being and legitimate participation in social life. Indeed, it requires not many arguments to demonstrate that our labourer is ill-paid, under-nourished, works for long hours under nerve-racking and unhealthy conditions, inhabits dark and dismal quarters, and lives his leisureless and sickly life in want of knowledge and recreation. His is a life not only unknown to fortune and fame, but unknown likewise to joy and beauty. When we add to this the fact that most of our industrial workers are drawn from their simple rural homes and are not yet completely acclimatized to their urban surroundings, the situation assumes tragic significance. They arrive in hope and stay with pessimism: Losing their old zest in life they develop new complexes. Across the brief channel of their life they pilot their weak vessels in perpetual storm.

The maladjustment, handicaps and ill-health of the vast industrial population, which was rapidly increasing, and which has multiplied many-fold during the War and will continue to grow still further and faster as India is now determined to be industrialized, have seriously impaired national health. This neglect of the worker has been mainly responsible for the industrial backwardness of the country, and if the genuine welfare of the worker is not dealt with by the State in co-operation with the employer, then it will be idle to hope for speedy national progress which is demanded by all sections of the people. It is time that these evils are neither consciously perpetrated nor perfidiously upheld by the capitalists.

Impersonalization of relationships is inherent in modern factory economy. It leads to lack of understanding between the employer and the workers, to suspicion on the part of the latter and callousness in the former. The much-talked-of lowness of the wage and the consequent miserable standard of living of the worker is nothing but the result of the employer's loyalty to competitive individualistic economy, which treats the worker as a pair of hands and nothing besides. With rationalization processes and a score of other "scientific" perpetrations, the worker is being looked upon as a unit of energy complementing the power of the machine. His motions are marked out, fatigue is figured, and output is fixed. His efficiency is graded and he is paid according to his "ability". In the interests of his health and work, he is advised to consume so many numbers of calories per day. The worker is treated as a calory-consuming and energy-expending apparatus to be used for purposes of production.

This treatment of the worker as a commodity is not the only result of modern

factory economy. A factory concentrates thousands of workers and it is natural for these to want to live in the neighbourhood of their work-place. House rent, in the hands of avaricious landlords, naturally rises and hence the workers either share rooms and rent with friends or live in cheap jerry-built constructions. Having neither knowledge of sanitation nor the means to live cleanly, they soon convert their habitations into slums and become naturalized to filthy lives. In cities, where thousands of factories are situated closely, the problem of labour housing becomes aggravated. Entire areas are rapidly turned into slums. While admitting that other factories also engender slum life, it may be asserted that slums are the results chiefly of industrialism. These slums are not created by avaricious and anti-social land-lords only; housing facilities created also by the government, the municipalities and even well-meaning employers have lacked bare human considerations. Neither principles nor ideals nor knowledge have guided their construction. The inhumanity and ignorance of the State and its branches have been more glaring and tragic than the inevitable selfishness and profit-motive of the landlord.

Now these dismal facts, which appear to flow from the structure of modern industrialism, render it difficult for the worker to make his life decent and dignified. His life is full of crowded hours; and belonging to a too numerous fraternity the labourer has lost his individuality in the mass. In the face of the overwhelming demands of the machine there is danger of his being dehumanised. Hence the need for a new vision, a new understanding, a new outlook and a new plan.

Labour Welfare in India.—Labour Welfare work in India has not a long history. Therefore, it has not yet had time to develop

any technique, nor define its scope and activities. In the early years of industrial development, whether in plantations or in docks, no attention was given to the amenities of labour. The very newness of machine production, the anxiety incidental to the initial marshalling of capital resources, the consequent speculation, the getting of raw material, the capturing of markets, the fighting of foreign and native competition, the making of adjustments with an unsympathetic government,—these were some of the factors which, perhaps naturally enough, engaged the chief interests of the capitalists and led to the neglect of labour welfare and interests. Consequently, labour was characterised by long hours of work, low wages, appalling insanitary working and living conditions and absence of any facilities.

These intolerable conditions led to labour investigations which resulted in the passing of a series of statutory regulations (Factory Acts, Mine Acts, etc.) to control living and working conditions as well as the payment of wages. The scope and object of these Acts have been gradually extended by amendments. And new Acts like Workmen's Compensation Act, Maternity Benefits Act, Payment of Wages Act, etc., have been passed to define and enforce the responsibilities and duties of employers towards their employees. While these Acts have mitigated some of the extreme hardships of the workers, it must be admitted that they only seek to obtain the minimum benefits for them. Moreover, our labour legislation is still dominated by sterile legalistic concepts and contractual view of labour. The statutes have many lacunae and loopholes of which the employers frequently take advantage. Also, they do not provide for efficient supervision and enforcement of the conditions they lay down. Labour legislation in India has timidly touched only

certain aspects of labour problems; it has yet to assume a positive and more comprehensive role.

This is not to imply that nothing more than what is demanded by the Labour Acts has ever been undertaken by any of the Indian employers for the benefit of their workers. Housing and dispensary services, to at least a small portion of their workers, were amongst the earliest benefits provided by many large Factories, Municipalities, Railways, Ports, Mines and Plantations. For a long time, the provision of any other amenities was considered to lie beyond the scope of labour management. Very rarely was the welfare of the worker's family included in the programme. Gradually, wherever labour colonies were built away from the general population of the town or the city, elementary educational facilities of some sort were provided for the children of the labourers. The experiment in labour colonies in Nagpur, Kanpur, Calcutta, Madras, Madura and in a few other places has brought out the need to treat the labourer and his family as one unit for purposes of welfare measures. Nay, in a well-established labour colony the entire labour community so settled has to be treated as one unit. For the industrialist who creates a labour village becomes responsible to a great extent, if not wholly, for the sanitary, educational, recreational and civic amenities of the people. At this stage, labour welfare becomes transformed into problems of civic welfare as in cities like Jamshedpur. The creation of labour colonies in our country marks an important epoch in the history of labour welfare in particular, and in industrial life in general. It has enlarged the scope and possibilities of labour welfare. It points the direction which our labour welfare should take in future.

Labour welfare work in India is yet feeling its way; its past history is a colossal and costly failure; and the future must be based on new principles, new outlook and new techniques. The failure of labour welfare work in the past is largely due to five factors: (a) lack of sincerity and of a scientific outlook, (b) the unhelpful attitude of the employers, (c) the suspicious attitude of the workers, (d) the inadequate relation of the State to Labour Welfare and (c) the dearth of well-trained social workers.

In many cases labour welfare was carried out with a desire to curb the growth of the Trade Union movement and to conciliate labour. Even when social welfare was undertaken by kind, generous and humane employers, the attitude and outlook of charity and philanthropy, so widespread owing to the influence of religion in India, prevailed. There was no thought of such welfare being an integral part of their responsibility, an obligation they owed to the workers in the very act of employing them. Hence no systematic and allround betterment of the latter was undertaken. When labour welfare was made legally compulsory on the employer, it became a coercive burden on his unwilling shoulders and token welfare programmes were carried out to fulfil the mere letter of the law. Even where Labour Welfare Officers were appointed, their duties and functions were only remotely connected with the real welfare of the workers.

Many welfare programmes were recently carried out by employers on account of the war-boom and the employer's preference for the welfare of his workers to returning his profits through the Excess Profits Tax to an unsympathetic and alien government; but such opportunistic patriotism can serve the worker only for a time, and there is the greater danger of the worker being driven to his old miseries and the lower standards of living now that the war boom is over.

Very few employers have yet accepted labour welfare-work as an indispensable part of industry. They hold that beyond the receipt of the wage—and may be a few occasional gratuities—the worker is not entitled to any other benefits. Industries cannot bear the burden of additional charges. Even if they can, it is not an investment, for the returns are not even commensurate. As a business proposition, labour welfare work is indeed a liability. The employers have contracted with labour to pay for the pair of hands. If behind the pair of hands, there is a personality to be cared for, the State should provide for its growth. If and when the industries can afford, the employers may start welfare work as a philanthropic endeavour.

It is futile to criticise this attitude of the employers. It is the result of competitive individualistic economy. It claims profits and disclaims responsibilities. The workers' suspicion and hostility towards their employers appears to be a reaction against the unhelpful attitude of the employers in general. The workers naturally look with suspicion on the welfare activities of their employers as a clever ruse to disrupt the solidarity of labour forces. They resent nothing so much as a show of charity towards them by their masters; nor is it fair for the latter to treat their employees as beggars or even as children. Indeed, in such an atmosphere of mutual distrust, welfare work can least succeed. It is misconceived by the employers and misconstrued by the employees. The half-heartedness of the employers and the want of response on the part of the workers is a great deal responsible for the failure of labour welfare work.

The dearth of trained welfare workers is another factor which has contributed to its failure. Neither the employers, nor the

workers, nor even the general public have an appreciation of the importance of scientific welfare work. Trained in the traditions of individual charity, India is slowly realizing the role of institutional social work, group social work and individual case work. Persons who have managed labour welfare had neither the requisite knowledge of human nature and labour conditions, nor training in the techniques of welfare work. There are exceptional cases where able officers have been appointed. But, generally speaking, labour welfare management has been in the hands of raw personnel. In the hands of untrained personnel, it is nothing surprising that labour welfare work should have failed of its essential purpose. We must also state it here that the employer, having himself no notion of the legitimate scope of welfare work, has saddled the unfortunate labour officer or his assistants with a vast range of vague and unco-ordinated duties, bewildering in their variety and onerous in their execution.

It is true that the Central Government and various Provincial Governments have sponsored Labour Legislation and gradually demanded of the employers the introduction of more and more activities for the benefit of labour. And yet, an alien government not based on adult franchise and mainly representative of various vested interests, especially of the employers of labour, will always remain under the charge that it can be only hustled by the clamour of public opinion and the fear of organised labour, and it will never be inspired by a genuine realisation of social justice and the bare rights of man.

Besides, labour welfare under State inspiration has proceeded slowly and unscientifically. Both legislation and practical action have been haphazard, illogical and ill-planned. Where labour welfare has been directly

sponsored by various governments, the activities have been generally ill-mannered and the financial contribution almost niggardly and entirely inadequate. Any scientific planning of labour welfare could have foreseen the need of extensive leadership of the right type and training; but measures for the creation of this leadership have been totally absent. The fundamental principle of social welfare that "Action should follow knowledge" has never been applied by the State for the promotion of labour welfare.

This brief sketch of the history of labour welfare work in India is given to show on what foundations a new structure, conducive to the real welfare and interest of millions of workers can be built. The picture is in no way inspiring. Indeed, there are many who would suggest a complete eradication of the past to build an entirely new future. Such a radical remodelling of the scheme of things can only follow a total revolution. In the immediate future, the threads of the past must be taken up, and loose threads must be replaced to make a coherent pattern. Details of previous programmes must be fitted into new and comprehensive outlooks, careful planning, and scientific methods devised to reach clear and definite objectives.

The Labour Welfare Programme of tomorrow must first determine precisely whose responsibility it really is to provide for the welfare of the working class. The problem of agency is all important. Who is to take the initiative and lead, shoulder the responsibility and bear the cost? Labour welfare agencies whose scope of work is more or less similar, fall into five general types: (1) those conducted by the Employers; (2) by the Government; (3) by Local Bodies; (4) by Public Organizations; and (5) by Trade Unions. It is not possible here to investigate into the principles guiding these, or the techniques adopted by them, nor even to

evaluate in detail the achievements and failures of each. It can be stated that in India the State has already shouldered the responsibility, and this is a step in the right direction. Employers, municipalities and political bodies will have to play their part, but the eventual leadership must remain with the Labour Welfare Departments of the Central and Provincial Governments. These Departments must provide the legislation and initiate, direct, guide and even supervise the work of the Welfare Department set up by the employers in each factory. A Labour Welfare Department in the charge of a Personnel Officer helped by a welfare staff has become an inevitable adjunct to every big factory.

The Department functions to prevent the disintegration of the worker's personality and help him to keep himself adjusted to his surroundings. This is the main objective which justifies the existence of the Labour Welfare Departments. In doing this, the Departments counteract the harmful effects of industrialism on the life of the worker and offer him facilities to make the best possible use of his new environment.

Motives of Welfare Work.—It may here be mentioned that three main considerations may enter into the undertaking of welfare activities: (1) to placate labour; (2) to make labour efficient and industry profitable; (3) to help the worker realize his personality and equip him to become a citizen worthy of his society. Welfare work undertaken to placate labour is the worst kind of all. All such welfare work is inspired by the anxiety to conciliate and win over labour. It is foredoomed to failure though for a while it may show an appearance of success. It cannot succeed because it lacks the essential principle and spirit of welfare work. Its motive is mercenary. It is conceived and carried out in anxiety. All welfare work to

placate labour disunites and degenerates workers.

Regarding the other consideration of making labour efficient through welfare work and thus making industry profitable, the motive must be confessed to be not noble, unless the efficiency merely logically follows as a result of the welfare programme and the consequent happiness and intelligence and sense of security that the worker feels in his life. The work cannot succeed long if the employers merely calculate on the returns of this undertaking. In works of human welfare, results are bound to be slow and not easily obvious. True, the result of welfare work can be readily witnessed in healthy bodies and happy faces of workers; but the results, nevertheless, are intangible and their success or failure depends on several other factors and are bound to be misleading. Even if efficiency is demonstrable in a short time as a result of labour welfare work, that should not be made the only motive of welfare activities. It needs no argument to prove—and our industrialists need no such assurance—that welfare activities are ultimately bound to raise the efficiency of the workers and place industry on more secure footing.

The final and real motive,—that of helping the worker to overcome his hindrances and handicaps and realise the best life and make himself an asset to society and a fit instrument of creating a healthy and useful race—is the only possible and laudable purpose that can justify welfare work. Such an outlook treats the worker as a human being and an end in himself, a healthy, happy and creative unit of a healthy, progressive and creative society.

Planning labour welfare presupposes the acceptance of certain conditions which constitute the principles of welfare work. Welfare work can flourish only in an atmosphere

of mutual trust and good-will. Its success rests on the participation of the workers for whose benefit it exists. They can participate whole-heartedly when they have confidence in the government which represents the State and appreciate the sincerity of the employer. As a first step, therefore, the employer must disburden his age-old illusion and mentally accept labour welfare work as a most necessary part of industrial management. The part which labour plays in production—as important as, if not more than that played by capital—should be at once recognised. Industries have now reached a stage when they are no longer individual concerns but national assets. We must have a more rational and, at the same time, human understanding of the dignity and destiny of industries. If industrial concerns have to fulfil their useful function and play their part as national assets, they must also function as social service agencies, at least as far as their workers are concerned. In the future India, every industrial unit must be a social service agency for its workers. The two ideas, "industry" and "social service", must be inseparable. Industry is an institution; social service is another institution. Both these must coalesce and function as one in the new social economy. Thus viewed, welfare work becomes, in its most comprehensive significance, an inevitable and indivisible part and function of industrial life. The role of industry is no longer a purely economic one, but a social one. Welfare work is an organic part of the industrial body. And the assumption of responsibility for the welfare of the worker is a legitimate function of industry. The exercise of this organ, this faculty, this function will certainly lead to the health and vitality of industrial life. The idea of an industrial institution functioning also as a social service institution is a new philosophy which our industrialists should accept. Then

only labour welfare work can be liberally and sincerely planned and based on sound and lasting ideals. Even an efficiently planned welfare programme, concerned with the correct motives, cannot prove successful unless consideration is given to some fundamental aspects of the worker's life in its industrial bearings.

Basic Background for Successful Welfare Work.—Mention has already been made of important obstacles to welfare work inherent in the present economy. No factors are more insidious in their operation than low wages and want of leisure on the part of workers. A detailed discussion of wages is beyond the scope of our present subject.

Low wages can never enable the worker to maintain the decent standard of life which is aimed at by the welfare programme. If labour welfare is the constructive plan for the betterment of the life of the worker, low wage provides that destructive element which will annihilate the benefits of that welfare programme. Besides low wages, which in turn mean bad housing, malnutrition, bad health and neglect of disease, inadequate care and education of children and indebtedness will unnecessarily add to the demand of more welfare work, and more expense to undo the ravages caused by low wages. It can be generally stated that unless the principle of the minimum wage—to include decent housing, adequate nourishment and clothing, cost of transport cost of medical relief, education and recreation for all the members of the family—is accepted, welfare work can hardly succeed in its mission.

Touching leisure, we may only mention that the workers must be emancipated from their present drudgery if they have to realise the life beautiful. All culture is based on the free and creative utilization of leisure. It is well said that slaves have no leisure;

and it may be added that want of leisure creates slaves. All older civilizations were the creations of aristocracies which believed in exploitation, in leisure for the few and slavery for the many. On the slavery of the many the leisure of the few was based. Behind all the culture of the ancients were the hunger and groans and overwork of thousands.

Democracy has uprooted the theory of leisure for the few and labour for the many. Science has put in the hands of man instruments to emancipate him from thralldom. It has made leisure possible for all. If humanity is faithful to its new philosophy, it must at once release man from overwork, and provide the optimum opportunities for and release of the impulses of the masses. Masses must become real participators and creators of human culture and civilization. The positive object of welfare work is called into service for the very reason that the worker has no time to look after his own welfare; and that a leisured person can easily look after his own welfare. This view is based on a false philosophy of welfare work. It satisfies itself with canteen services, medical treatment, propaganda and gratuities. Such welfare work cannot take root. Welfare work does not mean catering to the needs of workers; it implies the kindling of worker's interests in various healthful life activities. The welfare department will train the worker to utilise his leisure creatively. The abolition of night shifts and the introduction of the 40 hours week, with enough holidays and leave with pay, are imperative to give the workers just enough leisure to devote their time to human life, to education and cultural life, recreation and social life.

Leadership for Welfare Work.—The welfare personnel constitute the leadership of welfare work. They are the moving spirits of welfare activities. Therefore, they have

to be selected with great care and impartiality, with special regard to qualifications required for their functions. The personnel should be composed of honest and brave men and women, persons who have vision to design and independence to execute. It is most fundamental to realise that Welfare Officers are social engineers.

Qualifications of a Personnel Officer.—Appointment of trained welfare personnel is a pre-requisite for successful planning. Welfare work is an art which works with the instruments of science. It cannot be left to laymen. The persons in charge of welfare work should be those who have a profound knowledge of economic conditions and principles. Besides, they must have an understanding of human psychology. They should be able to judge independently motives and actions of individuals and groups. They should be capable of tactfully, sympathetically and boldly meeting situations as they arise. Thus, for instance, an industrial strike creates a psychological situation. It is only persons who can quickly grasp the complex workings of the human mind and anticipate trends that can be helpful in solving the problem.

It is well said that the Personnel Officer is the liaison officer between the employees and the employers. He keeps contacts between the workers and the management and cements the relationships of the two. He interprets the problems of the one to the other and bring about sympathy and understanding. By infusing faith and confidence in either, he kindles cooperation between the two. The Personnel Officer is greatly responsible for this spirit of cordiality between the parties. He is there to neutralize the effects of impersonalization in modern industries. In one word, he stands for the workers so far as the management is concerned,—representing the human interests

of both sides. This does not mean that the Personnel Officer represents the managements in all the particulars of business. No; his province extends only as far as the welfare of the workers is involved; from recruitment to conditions of work, promotion and dismissal, recreation, housing, health and education. The fundamental objective of the Personnel Officer is to make the life of workers happy and healthy. It is essential that the Personnel Officers of tomorrow should have an adequate knowledge of law; because the State is assuming a more and more positive role as regards social legislation, and many a situation would arise when the Personnel Officer would be called upon to explain the legal position to the workers as to the management. A Welfare Department should have as its head and leader a Personnel Officer who should be a person well trained in (1) Social Economics and Statistics: (2) Psychology; (3) Sociology, Theoretical and Applied; (4) Law and (5) Philosophy.

Possessing these academic qualifications, it can be said that the Personnel Officer is primarily an administrative and executive official. As such, his organising ability, efficiency and temperament should be outstanding, so that he is able to command, control and befriend the most important asset of an industry—the labour population.

In the extensive Labour Welfare Department of a modern industry, there are many other officials who are needed to fulfil duties of leadership and responsibility. The chief of these will be the Labour Officers in charge of Departments, the Medical Officer, the Women and Child Welfare Officer, the Physical Director, the Education Director, the Superintendent of Housing Administration and Management and the Family Case Worker. Under these officers will work an efficient staff of supervisors, instructors, statisticians and clerks. The special officers

will naturally possess requisite qualifications and experience to fulfil their duties with ability, responsibility and initiative. While much depends on leadership provided by the personnel, welfare work cannot succeed unless the scope and activities of each officer are fairly well-defined. Welfare work has a definite function to fulfil and since it works through a definite body of officials it should be clear about its field of activity. The techniques of welfare work that are to be adopted also depend on the specification of the province of work. Indeed, the visualising of the perspective of one's work and authority is the first step in efficient administration.

The Royal Commission on Labour in their Report (1931) suggested the appointment of a labour officer for factories, such officer to be in charge of workers' welfare, besides being responsible for engagements and dismissals of staff. In pursuance of this suggestion, almost every large factory today has its own labour officer. Where there is no specific appointment made of the labour officer, the welfare activities of the factory are usually conducted by a general committee composed of the members of the management. The smaller factories have neither labour officers nor welfare activities.

Scope of Labour Welfare Work.—It is somewhat difficult to accurately lay down the scope of labour welfare work. Welfare work is a comprehensive term. When it is applied to a flock of sheep or a herd of cattle, it is easy to perceive the field of work and suggest a programme. But labour is composed of dynamic individuals with complex needs. In a world of changing values where ideologies are undergoing rapid transformation, rigid statements about the field of welfare work are bound to be revised from generation to generation. Moreover, labour welfare work is increasing with increasing opportunities and needs to meet varying

situations; it is also increasing with the growing knowledge and experience of techniques. An able welfare officer would include in his programme whatever activity would conduce to the well-being of the worker and his family. He would work on existing programmes as well as initiate new ones. The test of a welfare activity is that it removes, directly, any hindrance, physical or mental, of the worker and restores to him the peace and joy of living.

Welfare activities fall into three categories: (A) Welfare activities inside the Factory or the workplace, (B) Those outside the Factory or the workplace, (C) General Welfare Measures. Welfare work embraces the workers, his wife and children. The following list, which is by no means exhaustive, gives the items under which welfare work should be conducted inside and outside the work-place. The items which specifically refer to workers' children and wives are also indicated. The list includes general welfare measures.

CONDITIONS OF THE WORK ENVIRONMENT:

1. Workshop Sanitation and Cleanliness:
 - (a) Temperature, humidity, ventilation, lighting, elimination of dust, smoke, fumes and gases.
 - (b) Convenience and comforts during work, operatives' posture, sitting arrangement, etc.;
 - (c) Distribution of work hours and provision for rest times, meal times and breaks;
 - (d) Workmen's safety measures.
2. Factory Sanitation and cleanliness
 - (a) Urinals and lavatories; (b) Bathing facilities; (c) Provision for spittoons, water disposal, disposal of wastes and rubbish, general cleanliness; (d) Cleanliness, white-

washing and repair of buildings and workshops; (e) Ingress, egress, passages and doors; (f) Care of open spaces, gardens and roads.

3. Provision and care of drinking water.
4. Canteen Services.
5. Management of workers cloak rooms; rest rooms and library.

Workers' Health Service:

1. Factory Health Centre:
 - (a) Playgrounds; (b) Health education; (c) Medical examination for workers; (d) Health research.
2. Factory Dispensary and Clinic:
 - (a) General treatment; (b) Treatment of individual diseases and fatigue;
 - (c) Treatment of accidents.
3. Women and Child Welfare:
 - (a) Anti-natal and pre natal care; (b) Maternity Aid; (c) Infant welfare; (d) Creche; (e) Women's general education.
4. Workers' Recreation:
 - (a) Physical; (b) Playgrounds; (c) Outdoor Life; (d) Athletics; (e) Gymnasium; (f) Women's recreation.
5. Employment Follow-up.
 - (a) Reading room; (b) Library; (c) Circulating Library; (d) Visual education; (e) Pictorial Education; (f) Factory News Bulletin; (g) Literacy Classes; (h) Adult Education; (i) News Review; (j) Lecture Programme; (k) Debating Union; (l) Study Circles; (m) Education of workers' children; Nursery School, Primary School; (n) Women's Education; General Education with emphasis on hygiene, sex life, family life, family planning, child care, domestic economy, home handicrafts.

6. Cultural Activities:

- (a) Musical Evenings and Circles; (b) Art Circles; (c) Folk songs and stories; (d) Histrionics; (e) Folk dancing; (f) Festival celebrations.

Labour Welfare:

1. Factory Council consisting of representatives of labour and employers.
2. Workmen's Arbitration Council.
3. Vocational and Job Adjustment.
4. Social Welfare Department's Co-operation with Personnel Administration, especially for Case Investigation, Interview and Vocational Testing.
5. Employment Follow up.
6. Research Bureau.

Labour's Economic Welfare:

1. Co-operatives or Cost-price Shops for consumers' necessities, especially grain, vegetable, milk, meat, oils and ghee, cloth and daily requirements.
2. Co-operative Credit Society.
3. Thrift Schemes and Savings Bank.
4. Unemployment Insurance.
5. Health Insurance.
6. Employment Bureau.
7. Profit Share and Bonus Schemes.
8. Factory Transport Service.

General Welfare:

1. Housing.
2. Family Case Work.

The items in the list we have given above are self-explanatory. But their details vary according to the nature of the occupation, the number of workers concerned, the character of the work-place and several other factors. An efficient Personnel Officer can easily fill in the details of each programme of work, and even add new items. It must be insisted here that welfare work in the work-place, though somewhat different in character from welfare work outside the

work-place, is not unconnected with the latter. Indeed, welfare work inside and outside the work-place, as well as general welfare work and the economic welfare of the workmen, must be intelligently co-ordinated with one another.

Though every item of welfare work in the list is very important, special remarks may be made about a few ones. Health and education of the worker should receive the constant attention and care of the Personnel Officer. Indeed, there is no opportunity which cannot be utilized for the furtherance of the worker's health and education. By health we do not mean merely the absence of illness but the positive presence of vitality in the body and mind. This depends on the proper conditions of work, nourishing diet, sanitary conditions of living and wholesome and healthy habits. The Personnel Officer should secure all these for the workers, if they have to lead useful lives. He should insist on the management to make it possible for the workers to have these essential conditions for health. He may suggest improvements in the conditions of work, such as, installation of exhaustion plants, humidifiers, cooling plants and other scientific devices wherever necessary; he may inculcate in the workers the principles of making and taking a nutritive diet and, may be, even provide it through the mess or the canteen; he may plan housing and cause colonies to be built, effect improvement in existing ones and supervise over living conditions; he may teach, by example and precept, the healthful habits of living. In all these cases, the services of the medical officers or the colony medical officers, as the case may be, are invaluable. Though the function of the hospital is obviously that of treating ailments and dispensing medicines it should fulfil a positive and nobler role. The hospital should be made a centre for dispensing health knowledge. Whether the person is

at work or at play, at the bath or at his meal, health principles can be inculcated with reference to the changing contexts.

In other words, the hospital with its officials should help the Personnel Officer in educating the worker to know and maintain healthful habits in his work life, play life, sex life, individual life and social life. The worker's wife and children should be similarly educated.

So ubiquitous and versatile is the role of education. Without education a rich man's life is poor indeed; with it a poor man's life is rich. Education touches the entire life of the individual. While he is at work the worker should be made to adjust himself to his job, psychologically, physically and intellectually. While he is operating on the machine, it is easy to teach him what the machine is like, and how it works. In the beginning he may learn the elementary principles and later have a knowledge of the complex design and structure of the machine, and finally know the history of its invention and its inventor. We believe this scientific knowledge on the part of our workers is not at all irrelevant and useless, though it may appear to be so, considering the present state of their abysmal ignorance. This knowledge of the machine, its working and its history has tremendous psychological effects on the worker. He finds meaning in the infinite motions of the monster. Since he understands its behaviours, he is not overawed but keeps his dignity. He will consider himself as a master of the machine instead of being its tool. He will work intelligently and hence efficiently and will claim and deserve his promotion. If proper educational facilities are provided from the beginning and a good atmosphere is maintained, the intelligent worker may even pursue his scientific interest and crown his career with fruitful achievements. What pessimist can dare affirm that in the present

worker, so much humiliated and degraded, we have not an embryonic *Visvakarma* or *Vulcanus*?

The programme of education for the workers may appear to be very ambitious. But the subjects we have included are most necessary for the full expression of life. Even if a man is to be a worker all his life, and his wife and children and his children's children and all his generations to come are to be workers, they still have to know the fundamentals of life, of the sciences and the arts, of the achievements of mankind in various fields. We cannot shut out "culture" from the life of the worker, be he ever so busy. Simple and elementary books have to be written for the adult workers and courses have to be specially designed for them.

In devising this scheme of studies for the workers, we are well aware of their present illiterate condition. But adult illiteracy is a passing phase. Adults can be made literate and by education of the children, who are future adults, the problem of illiteracy is bound to disappear. It may be argued that workers have no leisure to know things and study them. Precisely that is also our argument. We cannot perpetuate a system of economy which manifestly confesses that it allows no leisure to the workers to improve their bodies and minds. We do not believe in a philosophy of the need to maintain a leisureless class; no in the inevitability of a leisureless class; nor in the inevitability of the inevitability of such an invidious phenomenon is incidental to exploitative psychology. Even with whatever leisure is at the worker's disposal, the experiment may be tried and useful results obtained. We must repeat that what we have designed for the workers is only elementary.

So far as the worker's wife is concerned, her education must lay emphasis on hygiene, domestic economy (covering cooking, wash-

ing, etc.), sex life and child care. Practical education in knitting, tailoring, etc., should be given to her if she is not a worker. If she is a worker, we discourage her from engaging herself in further work as it involves additional strain. Domestic duties, child care and companionship of her husband are by themselves sufficient to occupy her leisure hours. Concerning the children, their education should be the same as given to other children of the nation. Worker's children, along with others children, are the children of the nation. They should not be made working-class conscious; and their education should be planned along national lines and with reference to human destiny and ideals. Given a fair measure of general and practical education, the boy should be free to "adventure" in life once or twice and find his own "calling" as a youth of character. If the early education of the child is good, we hazard to avouch that the youth will not miss his noble work, prophets of evil and bad social systems notwithstanding. But, at present, a great deal has to be done before thinking of educating the worker's child. The child's physical and social environments have to be improved; the child should be washed, fed and clothed. The Personnel Officer cannot get these things done through the creche and the nursery for all time. The parents of the child have also to be educated in the ways of bringing up the child. The social worker should not relieve the parents from child care. He should teach them the art of child upbringing and supplement their work by institutional care so far as is necessary. We should not merely "draw" the child away from the bad environment; this will not solve the problem. For the environment which is degenerating children will produce another set of degenerate children in course of time and the problem will arise again. Therefore, the right approach is to attack the environment and make it

impossible to produce bad children. Make homes healthy and children will be strong.

Techniques of Labour Welfare Work.—What should be the techniques of labour welfare work? In spite of resources and clear statement of the objectives, welfare work is bound to fail if the techniques employed are wrong. Employment of techniques is an art and no hard and fast rule can be laid down for it. At the outset, it must be stated that for purposes of welfare work the labourer, his wife and children have to be treated as one unit, while the respective needs of each have also to be kept in mind. Failure of most welfare work is due to the lack of essential correlation of the needs of the worker, his wife and child. It has already been mentioned that welfare work inside and outside the work-place also has to be linked up. Indeed, welfare work outside the work-place is a kind of follow-up service, and welfare work inside the work-place with reference to that outside is of the same character. Again, one item of welfare work as far as possible has to be linked up with other items so as to present a chain of collateral, successive or progressive activities. In other words, one activity must be adjusted and related to another as one which should be simultaneous or one which should follow as the next step. Life is multi-purposive; and no one activity should receive more attention at the cost of other activities. Welfare workers in charge of programmes, unfortunately, do not realise that programme making is a difficult science, requiring planning, method and experimentation. The ordinary special worker has the tendency to initiate programmes carried out at different places. He does not make allowances for difference in aims, suitability to place and participants, local needs and consideration for the participants' cultural level, intelligence, desire and interests.

Welfare programmes of the future will make a clear distinction between basic programmes, secondary programmes and special programmes. Basic programmes are organised on the basis of universal participation of pre-determined age and sex groups. Secondary programmes have limited participation on the "Interest" basis. Special programmes are advanced programmes specially provided to give maximum opportunities for self-expression, self-development, creative and cultural achievement. The science of programme-making consists in planning them on the above basis, at the same time carefully determining and changing them to provide for the development levels of participating groups.

The art of programme-making consists in timing, modifying and changing programmes to maintain the highest pitch of enthusiasm and interest of the participants. Reactions of the participants are carefully watched and noted, the personal initiative of their officer is ever in readiness to give those special touches which hold the interest of the participants and keep their emotions ever alive to make the best of each programme.

As far as possible, workers should be actively associated in welfare work and every activity has to be conducted with their full consent and co-operation. Committees composed largely of workers and partly of the members of the management should be entrusted with the duties of adumbrating programmes and carrying them out. The Personnel Officer, who will be

the General Chairman, will correct and discipline, guide and counsel, instruct and inspire the committee in their thinking and activities. The association of workers in welfare activities has great moral advantages. It creates confidence in the mind of the workers. It fosters public spirit, sense of responsibility and leadership qualities. It makes the workers self-reliant and able to manage their own problems. The crown and culmination of welfare work is to enable the worker himself to plan and carry out his welfare. Welfare will have significance and purpose and the welfare department will have seen the fruition of its labours.

These are the lines along which labour welfare work may be conducted in future India. The programme that is outlined can be immediately given effect to in all the work-places, whether they are factories, mines or plantations, and in labour *bustees* or colonies wherever they exist. Ignorance, ill-health and dirt are the three giants labour welfare has to fight, in the home life, personal life, work life and community life of the worker. They have to be fought out steadily and scientifically on all the four fronts. Man has planned for cotton, coal and coffee and yet done little for his fellow man. In the coming years, the labourer shall be made mightier than the machine with which he works, more fruitful than the dust on which he treads, richer than the earth into which he digs.

(By courtesy "15 Years Ahead", published by Messrs. Fazalbhoy Ltd., Bombay)

NEWS AND NOTES

CHILDREN'S ART CENTER IN U. S.

The Children's Art Center in Boston, in the State of Massachusetts, is the oldest fine arts museum in the United States built and run exclusively for children. It was established in 1918.

The Center's primary purpose is teaching appreciation of beauty. Its program also guides children in the constructive use of leisure time, helps to develop their imagination and independence, and provides encouragement for both the emotionally disturbed child and the unusually talented.

The main attractions of the Center are its free facilities for drawing, painting, and sculpturing. The Center also maintains a permanent exhibition of art from its own collections, and loan exhibitions of contemporary art that are changed every three weeks.

The visitors to this museum range in age from 6 to 20. One afternoon a week is reserved for boys and girls of high-school age. All pay a small registration fee, but materials and instruction are free.

The Center is open every afternoon during the week and on Saturday mornings so that the children may attend it during hours when school is not in session. About 50 come daily.

Creates Tranquil Atmosphere.—Through its physical surroundings the Center creates an atmosphere of tranquillity in which the children feel at ease.

The building is a rectangular, one-story brick structure, simply designed. Five large glass doors are cut into the facade. The interior of the building is light and airy. The vaulted ceiling is painted blue, and the walls are cream colored. Tables and benches

vary in size so that the tallest and the smallest of the young artists can work comfortably. Even the picture hanging on the wall and the exhibitions of art objects are placed at the eye level of a child. The glass doors open upon a garden where the children work in pleasant weather. The wide stretch of lawn is bordered by flowers and trees and enclosed by a high brick wall.

Miss Charlotte Dempsey has been director of the Center for 20 years. She and her five assistants encourage spontaneity and originality but give sound instruction to children in the fundamentals of design. The teachers guide by suggestion and by helping the children to see beauty of color and line in the art work on display.

No copying of other pictures or sculpture is allowed. The Center wants the children to express their own perceptions in their own way. Each child makes his own choice of medium and subject. Then he goes to the teacher for help with technical problems, or she comes to him with a proposal for improving his work.

Story-Telling Period.—To broaden the children's vision and stimulate their imaginations, a regular story-telling period is held each day. Frequent talks are given by outside lecturers. Specialists in such fields as ornithology, forestry, and dancing, as well as artists, writers, political leaders, and persons who are familiar with distant countries, have addressed the students. While they listen, the children draw images that a speaker's words suggest.

The Center's collections of art represent a wide variety of styles and periods, although the majority of the pieces are by modern American sculptors and painters. Various

art galleries in Boston and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts have cooperated for many years in lending the Center exhibitions. Several Boston shops have also lent crystal, silver, and pottery, made in the United States and in other countries. An effort is made to have on display several objects that the children may handle themselves.

Skills of the children are widely recognized. Exhibitions of their work are held every year in Boston. On some occasions a display planned for one day has attracted so much attention that the showing has been extended. Exhibitions have also been requested by other countries.

Exhibitions in Foreign Countries.—Work from the Children's Art Center has been seen in the Museum of Pedagogy and the Exposition Internationale in Paris; in the University of Moscow, USSR; in Melbourne, Australia; and in Burma, China and Japan.

Teachers of art classes in schools of Boston and nearby cities often bring their students

to view the work being done at the Center, and visitors to the United States from other countries frequently include the Center in their itinerary.

Many children who once studied at the Center are now adult artists. One such pupil is Allan Rohan Crite, a young Negro painter who has won acclaim for his interpretation of the life of Christ in twentieth-century terms. In addition to designing and executing paintings for many Catholic and Protestant churches, Crite has recently illustrated a book of Negro spirituals published by the Harvard University Press in Cambridge, near Boston. Some of his works also hang in museum. Crite looks upon the Children's Art Center as his alma mater and still brings his work there for exhibition.

The Center was founded by privately subscribed funds. It is now supported by donations from individuals and by money collected in the city's annual Community Chest campaign for voluntary support of nonprofit institutions.

PEOPLE PRODUCE—NOT MACHINES

H. P. DASTUR

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The following line occurs in a Hindi song:—

"Though the skill is in the finger, the credit goes to the instrument." Similarly though people produce, credit very often goes to machines. When that happens people forget that the machines themselves are products of human energy. Further, a machine, however cleverly designed and whatever its productive capacity, is just an inert mass of matter unless human energy puts life in it. What is more important is the man behind the machine.

World War II has left the whole world in a queer mess. Everybody is agreed that post-war reconstruction depends on speeding up production of essential articles of basic needs of people, but there is disagreement over methods of achieving this purpose. Government hopes to help the production drive through legislation regarding sickness insurance and improving working conditions. It is to their credit that despite other more urgent preoccupations they have recently enacted. "The Employees' State Insurance Act and the Factories' Act of 1948." When however legislation precedes facilities neces-

sary for fulfilling the requirements of the Acts, the latter are not likely to prove an economic venture or to serve their main purpose of increasing production. The employer tries to step up production through rationalization and standardization of manufacturing processes. This method is good as far as it goes, but it cannot go very far, for it fails to take into consideration the individual personality of workers. One can flatten out methods of manufacturing processes into uniform patterns, but one cannot handle operatives the same way. The labour leader pins his faith on wages. Wages have of course to be commensurate with the type of work done, but wages act as an incentive to production only upto subsistence level. Beyond that emotional incentives are necessary to draw out the latent energy of operatives. Their basic needs of self-importance, pride in their work and self-expression through it, have to be respected if they are to give of their best.

The capitalist swears by private enterprise to step up production, but private enterprise uncontrolled by public scrutiny often runs amok and rides rough-shod over human rights. The editor of the British Journal of Industrial Safety characterises "the nineteenth century as an industrial Dark Age, when the advocates of *laissez faire* laid up riches for themselves and misery for everybody else, including their own heirs." The ugly traditions of this dark age are still lingering to a great extent in the industrial life of India to-day. The socialists' panacea is nationalization of industries. It is however nowhere proved that everything else being equal nationalised industries produce more than those working under private enterprise. The slogan one reads on the socialist banner is 'Common good of the common man,' but psychology teaches that each man has his own individual personality,

and personality is a unique combination of varying physical structure and mental attitudes. And how about women operatives? Their number in industries is on the increase. The personality traits of woman are so different from those of man that to treat the common good of the common woman the same way as the common good of the common man can only lead to disastrous consequences both for man and woman. The communist upholds the absorption of all proprietary rights in a common interest. It is however not clear how the doctrine of a community of property is going to solve the problem of optimum production, and one grows more suspicious when he finds that the communist wants to coerce his opponents to his way of thinking at the point of the sword. Throughout the history of mankind there has not been a single incident which can give evidence that the jungle law has ever succeeded in establishing a human order of appreciable merit. The policy of might is right has been tried out *ad nauseam* in every part of the world, and each time it has recorded a disastrous defeat after scoring an initial victory. The right however that is a moral truth has within it so unassailable a might that in the end it invariably asserts itself. And one such moral truth is that people produce, not *isms*. No matter under what *ism* an industry works it will be well on the road of optimum production if only it realizes that people produce, that production flows from the health of its operatives—health of their body as well as of their mind. If anything that of the mind is more important. There is a Chinese saying that "It is the mind that makes the body rich." Various causes can be adduced for the dearth of goods of basic needs in the post-war era, but the main one is strained management-labour relations in industries, and the only antidote for this is a well-organised industrial health programme

working out the established principles of industrial medicine.

Before the advent of World War II the only attention that management of industrial concerns in India gave to the health of their operatives was through a factory dispensary. This is still the general routine of Indian factories. Such a service at its best is no better than a charitable dispensary, and at its worst is a make-belief and just a sop to public opinion. It was only during World War II and after that a few far-sighted industrialists in India began to realise the importance of a comprehensive industrial health programme. Even they however are not fully alive to what is now an accepted fact in Western countries that a full-blooded programme of industrial health is an investment and not an expense. Such a programme by its very nature has to be many sided, for it has to include in it everything that can affect the health of workers, and so its capital expenses are rather on the high side, and managements fight shy of them because they find it difficult to appreciate that they are sound economies in the long run. An industrial health programme undoubtedly leads to increased efficiency of the worker and a higher rate of productivity. Advances in science and technology do help production but only when human relations among those working in production are smooth enough to avoid waste of effort and resources. This is particularly urgent to-day when the need of increased production is the greatest at one end, and at the other management-labour relations are strained as never before, and as the ultimate goal of an industrial health programme is to improve human relations in industry it is the main salvation of the present mess.

An industrial health programme has to have two sides, physical and psychological, for a human being is made up of body as well as mind, and as body and mind are

co-related and react on each other at every step so too the physical and psychological sides of an industrial health programme imperceptibly merge into one another. A sense of fear or insecurity often causes organic trouble among workers. These are known as psychosomatic diseases. They are more common in industries than most people have any idea of, and they lower production considerably. When such and similar emotional tensions affect whole groups of workers they lead to a strike, and a lightning strike, however objectionable, is an inevitable consequence of the mind acting upon the body. When oxygen and hydrogen come together they do not wait to give notice before causing an explosion. Similarly when inside stresses of groups of workers gather enough impetus from outside resistance of management there is no go but for such emotional tension to translate itself into the physical symptom of a lightning strike. To prevent the chemical explosion oxygen and hydrogen should be kept apart, and to lessen the number and intensity of the physiological outburst emotional tensions should be resolved before it is too late. This is the main purpose of an industrial health programme, and though we shall now discuss briefly a few of the main attributes of the physical and psychological sides of such a programme separately, we must not forget that both react to each other intimately.

"Men, methods and materials" are the three main pillars of a factory. The study of methods and materials comprises the physical side. It tries to find out and remove physical hazards to health, and does so through what are known as industrial health surveys and accident prevention campaigns. Further, through job analysis and time and motion studies of each job it lessens body fatigue. The psychological side studies men and their mental attitudes and tries to lessen mental fatigue, and resolves emo-

tional stresses, through various types of interviews and schemes of training within industries, and helps workers to regain emotional balance by listening to their grievances and attending to their suggestions sympathetically.

The health of a worker however depends on his activities of all twenty-four hours of the day. Over and above improving his working conditions, his whole life has to be studied and protected if his health is to be safeguarded on all fronts. This calls for consideration of several other social activities like housing, nutrition, education and recreation. It is a hopeful sign that the trend in Indian industries is towards increasing attention to these activities. They however generally fail to achieve their purpose, for they are often undertaken in a patronising mood, and human dignity resents charity. Such activities should be undertaken in a spirit of co-operative partnership, and workers should always be consulted in all matters pertaining to their personal welfare.

As our aim is to safeguard a worker on all fronts, we must not forget that there is no human activity which has not some bearing on health. Two amongst the most important are colour and music. Both of these can be profitably used to draw out a worker's latent efficiency and speed up production.

DISABLED HOUSEWIVES

Courses on how to simplify daily house-keeping chores are being given in the United States for women suffering from such chronic ailments as heart disease. The housewives learn how to do the same amount of work around their homes with far less physical effort.

An increasing number of American hospitals and colleges are providing these courses as an aid to housewives who have a special

Colour can help in many ways. There are warm colours, and cool colours, and they can be used for regulating the temperature of a work-room. There are bright colours and dull colours. The former can be used to give prominence to work parts which are important, and the latter can help to keep less important parts in the background. This way they can lessen eye strain as well as mental strain. Colours can produce a psychological effect too and soothe emotional upsets. Colour is so important to industries that no industrial health programme which is well-planned is without a colour code for machines, equipment and buildings of a factory, and their surroundings.

Similarly it has been provided that "music while you work," if wisely utilised, is a stimulant for higher effort, and a balm for tired nerves. In Indian industries however music is still an untried quantity.

Charles Grant Allan has said that "The most beautifully coloured birds are always those which have had the most to do with the production of bright coloured fruits and flowers." Let us then strive to do our best by our workers in order to draw out all their bright colours so that the country may grow through their labour rich and attractive fruit. Let us tempt them to sing their way through their work.

LEARN HOUSEKEEPING

work problem because of some physical disability. A doctor can advise a man whose health is poor to change his job for one that requires less physical effort. Such advice, however, is unrealistic for a housewife. She has only one job—taking care of her home and family.

An example of the type of program offered in these courses for housewives is that conducted in the State of Michigan for women

with heart disease. With the cooperation of the Michigan State Heart Association, Wayne University in Detroit is offering a work-simplification course for women with a cardiac ailment. Methods taught in the course are based on time-and-motion studies made in the homes of cooperating housewives.

While each woman went about her day's work—such as preparing meals, making beds, cleaning and dishwashing—the researchers noted the number of steps she took and how often she strained to reach items on shelves and lifted various objects. Special attention was given to the work done in the kitchen, since that is where the average housewife spends most of her time.

Their detailed observation completed, the researchers then analyzed every move to find out how the housewife could have done each task more easily. They recommended no expensive alterations in home or labor-saving devices. Instead, they concentrated on better arrangement of such kitchen equipment as the stove and refrigerator and the placing of utensils on shelves so they could be reached without effort.

Just how successful the researchers were, is illustrated by the fact that they devised a work-saving routine for one housewife that reduced by 60 per cent the effort formerly required to do her daily tasks. The new routine saved her 61 miles of useless walking a year in preparing one daily meal.

LEGAL AID FOR TRADE UNIONISTS IN U. K.

Britain's trade union movement has a comprehensive structure of legal protection, aid and advice for the benefit of trade unions and individual trade unionists.

At the centre, the Trades Union Congress has a Standing Order permitting its General Council to raise, in emergency, a special levy on its unions to help fight any legal case of general significance to trade unionists and which may need to be carried through the lengthy process of successive appeals. This power has not recently been used, but the frequent—and expensive—necessity of taking workers' cases to the House of Lords to obtain a final ruling has often led the T. U. C. to make grants to its unions to help them to fight important cases to that level.

Several organs of the Trades Union Congress—its Research, Social Insurance and Wages Councils Departments, for instance—watch all legislation affecting trade unionists' interests and negotiate with State depart-

ments on points of law arising. A side issue in recent nationalisations, for instance, was the question of compensation for workers displaced on the take-over. This has been the subject of lengthy discussions both in the T.U.C. and between the T.U.C. and the Government. The specialist committees of the T.U.C. also offer an advisory service to unions on legislative questions and give guidance on issues of legislative policy and interpretation.

T. U. C. Guidance Sought.—The T. U. C. has its own legal adviser to deal with technical questions of law, who also serves individual trade unions on request. Questions of the conduct and rights of unions rank high on a long list of items on which the legal guidance of the T. U. C. has been sought. Such points as the legality of rules, disposal of funds, meeting and organisation procedure, legal forms of amalgamation, are the subjects of frequent requests for T. U. C. advice.

Several larger unions maintain their own legal departments, while a number of firms of solicitors, often because of some original sympathy of their partners with labour, have become specialists in questions of trade union law and of labour and social legislation. Two of these firms each service as many as 20 or 30 trade unions apiece.

With the adoption of a "no-strike" policy and the acceptance by the trade union movement of compulsory arbitration in industrial disputes, questions of the rights and responsibilities of members under such laws as those governing picketing, persuasion and intimidation in industrial conflicts, and conspiracy, are now only a minor part of the work of trade union lawyers. "Unofficial" strikers have no claim to legal assistance from their unions.

Even before World War II, however, the major part of the day-to-day legal work of trade unions sprang not out of industrial disputes but out of protective social and industrial legislation. The old Workmen's Compensation Acts especially, and the common law right to claim damages from employers whose "negligence" contributed to accidents, were a principal source of trade union litigation. Under the Workmen's Compensation Acts the legal department of one union recovered over £500,000 in six months on behalf of its members, and claimed from the formation of the union in 1922 to the outbreak of World War II in 1939 to have secured over £3,000,000 in compensation.

New Responsibility.—With the new National Insurance legislation—and particularly the Industrial Injuries Act, which provides for both temporary benefit and compensation for permanent disability to industrial casualties—the necessity for legal action to be initiated in every individual case has gone. Compensation is now assessed through

a structure of special tribunals from local to national level, which include employers' and workers' assessors and where an individual claiming compensation can be accompanied by a trade union official.

Unions still assist their members in preparing their cases before these tribunals, however; in fact, the relations with the structure of semi-judicial tribunals developed in connection with recent social legislation has become an important new responsibility of trade unions. The right to take common law action against "negligent" employers still exists, moreover, and is exercised.

Besides this type of legal protection, many unions also help workers to defend themselves in charges made against them in connection with their jobs. An outstanding example of this occurs in the road transport industry. The transport unions defend or help their members every year in literally thousands of cases under the Road Traffic Acts and on charges ranging from minor technical offences to manslaughter.

Wide Range of Queries.—Legally, unions can only give direct aid to members in issues arising out of their employment. But the legal advice which unions provide covers many other questions: one union legal officer says that he has advised members on every possible legal issue except divorce.

A particularly wide range of legal queries arises out of the activity of the 500 local trades councils—councils of local branches of unions recognised as district agents of the T. U. C. to act in questions of common interest to all trade unionists in the area. These can and do concern themselves with such questions as housing, town-planning, local medical services, educational facilities, local employment questions, recreational and cul-

tural services, and the T.U.C.'s legal advisor answers a stream of enquiries on the legal aspects of such issues.

The legal cover which is extended by British trade unions in social and industrial questions is, therefore, fairly complete.

I. L. O.'S TECHNICAL AID PROGRAMME

The International Labour Organisation has begun to provide technical assistance to its member countries as part of the combined United Nations-Specialised Agencies programme for the economic development of underdeveloped areas.

The I.L.O.'s contribution to the programme is being co-ordinated with the contributions of the other agencies through the Technical Assistance Board which was established by a resolution approved by the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly of the United Nations. The equivalent of \$20,000,000 has been pledged by 54 Governments to finance the programme up to December 31, 1951. Of this sum, roughly \$2,000,000 will be allocated to the I.L.O.

The fields in which the I.L.O. is providing assistance include vocational guidance and training, employment service organisation, migration, labour statistics, co-operation and handicrafts, industrial welfare, labour inspection, labour legislation, industrial relations, agricultural working and living conditions, social security, industrial safety, and industrial hygiene. Assistance will also be given in the solution of specific problems relating to particular industries or categories of persons.

Assistance is being supplied by missions composed of experts, and in the form of seminars, training institutes, meeting for exchange of information and in various other ways. The I.L.O. has provided technical assistance to its member states since the earliest years of the Organisation. With

the funds that have been made available under the new United Nations Specialised Agencies programme, however, the possibilities of increasing the Organisation's work of this kind have been considerably enlarged.

Countries which have requested assistance within the I.L.O.'s area of responsibility under the new programme include Burma, Ceylon, Colombia, Ecuador, India, Indonesia, Iran, Israel, Lebanon, Pakistan, Thailand and Turkey.

Preliminary work has been started on some of the projects proposed by these countries, and others are under consideration by the Technical Assistance Board. Certain of the projects will be undertaken by the I.L.O. in co-operation with one or more of the other international organisations participating in the programme.

Steps are now being taken to implement an agreement providing for various forms of assistance, which was signed with the Government of Ecuador by a joint UNESCO-ILO mission which recently visited that country.

Several projects to assist the Iranian Government to carry out its Seven-Year Plan are under consideration.

A joint UNESCO-ILO technical adviser is leaving shortly for Lebanon to assess that country's needs for assistance in education and vocational guidance and training.

It has been decided to appoint a resident technical assistance representative in Pakistan to help in formulating requests for technical assistance and to co-ordinate the

assistance programmes of the various participating organisations in the country.

A mission composed of four experts on education and vocational training will be sent jointly by UNESCO and ILO to provide assistance to Thailand.

Training Courses for Asia.—An International Labour Organisation programme designed to assist in the development of vocational training in Asia got under way during October 1950 in India and Ceylon.

The programme comprises four institutes, each dealing with an aspect of training under the direction of an I.L.O. expert. The programme is one of the operational activities the I.L.O. is carrying on as part of its general programme of technical assistance to its member governments in the field of manpower.

Three of the institutes will be held at the I.L.O.'s Asian Field Office on Technical Training at Bangalore, India. The fourth will be repeated four times—in Ceylon, India, Pakistan and the Philippines.

The three institutes being held at Bangalore will deal, respectively, with (a) organi-

sation and administration of national vocational training programmes, (b) the organisation and administration of apprenticeship, and (c) the organisation and administration of vocational instructor training. The techniques necessary for introducing and spreading the "Training Within Industry" system of job instruction will be taught in the fourth institute.

The course on the organisation and administration of national training programmes began early this month with Dr. S. S. Dhami an Indian expert on the staff of the I.L.O., as the instructor. The course will last twelve weeks.

The institute on the organisation and administration of apprenticeship was scheduled to begin mid-October with Mr. Svend Pedersen, Director of the I.L.O.'s Bangalore Office, as instructor. Mr. James Dowie, an English expert, is conducting the institute on the training of instructors, which is scheduled to start at the end of October. Mr. Sven Grabe, an I.L.O. expert, is conducting the four T.W.I. institutes, which got under way early in October and will extend over five months.

FATIGUE & EFFICIENCY IN TEXTILE INDUSTRY

The progress of industry, the well-being of the working man, the attainment and maintenance of secure and rising standard of living, economic self-sufficiency in the national sphere, all call for an increase in productivity. Efficiency can only be ensured if output increases without impairment of quality or heavy increase in costs of production. Decreased output is attributed, among other things, to fatigue in industry, both psychological and physiological. It is, therefore, natural that despite its elusive nature fatigue should have been the subject of

great deal of experimental and systematic study in countries industrially advanced.

Besides, industrial fatigue is a subject that interests both the employer and the employed. Since a decline in production is often associated with the workman's fatigue, the employer is keen to check this decline by eliminating fatigue. The employee also wants to eliminate fatigue since, it is for him, a feeling of tiredness or pain—something intrinsically unpleasant.

The field of systematic investigations into industrial psychology being relatively new

in this country, a report like that of Shri Kali Prasad, should stimulate efforts at investigating the causes of fatigue and suggesting ways and means to counteract its effects.

Fatigue in industry, according to the author, is "a condition caused by activity in which the output produced by that activity tends to be relatively poor and the degree of fatigue tends to vary directly with the poverty of output." The definition, in his opinion, is sufficiently objective to admit of experimental and quantitative treatment of the phenomenon of fatigue.

The report of the investigation, which was conducted under the auspices of the Indian Research Fund Association, attempts a study of the condition and the decrement in efficiency of the workers in the spinning and weaving sections of the Swadeshi Cotton Mills, Kanpur. The author has employed output as the main index of fatigue. In later studies, it is proposed to deal with the other indices of industrial fatigue, namely, consumption of power, industrial accidents, absenteeism and labour turnover.

The report embodies certain tentative conclusions from the enquiry which can be utilised for experimentation. In the Spinning Section, (1) the morning shift shows better performance on the whole. (2) Compared to the morning and day shifts, there is a steep rise in the output in the first spell of the night shift. But this is soon counterbalanced by a comparatively poor rate of work in the second spell (3-30 a.m. to 6-30 a.m.). (3) Boredom is characteristic of the mental state of the

worker in all the shifts in the last hour of the first spell and in the middle of the second. (4) The point of maximum efficiency is reached in the second and third hours of work in all the shifts. (5) Night work adversely affects the capacity of the worker and the quality of the work. (6) The efficiency is higher in winter than in summer. (7) Rest pauses and changes in postures delay the onset of fatigue and counteract it. (8) The high degree of muscular steadiness and co-ordination required in the spinning processes makes spinners perceptibly affected by fatigue. (9) Distance from mills seems to be a significant contributory cause of fatigue. (10) Poor nutrition lowers resistance and hastens fatigue.

The investigation in the Weaving Section reveals (1) Gradual rise in production from the first day of the week to the last day except for Friday when it approximates to Tuesday level, (2) Maximum production is recorded in November, December and January after which decline sets in. In July and August, there is a slight spurt.

It is proposed to extend the investigation to other sections in the Mills such as Ring Spinning, Warping, Drawing, Sizing, etc. To evolve methods of counteracting fatigue, experimental work is to be undertaken on (i) Rest-pauses, (ii) Postural adjustment, (iii) Regulation of work-hours and (iv) Modification of lighting arrangements.

It is welcome news that the programme for future work includes collection of parallel data in the different sections from other textile mills at Nagpur, Ahmedabad, Bombay and Madras.

FACTORY CONTROL IN SOVIET UNION

Factory control agencies in the Soviet Union are integral components of a comprehensive system of control, which is exercised by four distinct sets of agencies: govern-

ment offices, Communist Party, public organisations, and voluntary groups.

Government Offices.—The Soviet factory is owned by the state and administered by the government. Accordingly, it is not only an economic organisation but also a part of the government: it is the smallest unit in the hierarchical structure of state industrial administration.

The Central Board of Industrial Management of a factory issues directives for the organisation or reorganisation of individual establishments, introduction of technological innovations, implementation of cost-accounting provisions and related functions.

Trusts determine the annual 'industrial and financial plan' of each subordinated factory and decide upon its change. They also issue directives for the procurement of raw materials and credits, fix prices of finished products, and decide upon the variety of management. Control exercised by trusts is direct and daily.

Management consists of the Director of the factory appointed by the Minister. He is an indisputable master of the enterprise; he has the first and final word in all decisions concerning the details of production. Under him are the *chiefs of shops* who indirectly manage within their departments, all the activities pertaining to the organisation of production and technological processes, and who employ, dismiss, and transfer workers. Directly subordinated to the chiefs of shops are *foremen* who provide direct contact between management and workers. All orders are channelled to the workers through foremen who are also empowered to impose punitive measures upon the violators of labour discipline.

The Ministry of State Control exercises minute control over cash expenditures, cost-accounting, and, in general, the carrying

out of administrative orders. It operates through an elaborate system of Controllers-General and their staffs of senior controllers, controllers and junior controllers. Co-operating with these agencies are senior and junior inspectors. Junior controllers are established in all important enterprises and act independently of factory management. Their control is two-fold: preliminary and terminal. The first consists of checking on the legality of estimates, plans and expenditure allotments before any payments have taken place. Its function is to forestall any possible deficiencies. The second consists of auditing factory books for the purpose of unveiling unwarranted expenditures and hidden reserves.

The State Planning Commission is an all-important body empowered not only to draw plans for current and future economic activities but also to control individual enterprises.

The Control-Inspection Board of the Finance Ministry is a highly centralised control agency, operating through its own controllers-inspectors. It has the right to audit the books of any industrial enterprise and to report all deficiencies to District Attorney.

District Attorney exercises control over the observance of the general laws, decisions and orders by both management and trade union organisation.

State Arbitration is assigned the task of ironing out disagreements emerging in contract negotiations between various enterprises. It is fully empowered to supervise the fulfilment of contracts and plans.

The Organs of State Security.—This special police is to combat sabotage, political un-conformity, and "counter-revolutionary" forces in general.

The Workers' and Peasants' Militia is assigned the task of preventing disorders and safeguarding socialist property.

The Communist Party.—Party control is centered on the fulfilment of production quotas, proper expenditures of funds, protection of socialist property, and administration of social insurance. In its control of the work of the plant administration the party organisation must strengthen the principle of one-man management. It must enhance the authority of the manager by seeing that his orders and directives are strictly fulfilled.

Public Organisations.—These are semi-official mass associations assisting government agencies in performing their routine work and helping the party in its role of a mobilising, recruiting and controlling force. Their decisions are mandatory only for their own members. Only two public organisations operate in the factory: the primary trade union organisation and the Young Communist League.

The factory trade union committee is commissioned by the stipulations of the standardized collective agreement to watch over the conformity of the applied wage scale to legal provisions. It also controls expenditure from the Director's Fund, and internal factory order. Other functions of the committee consist of checking on managerial observances of those provisions of the Labour Code which deal with the well-being of workers, sanitary conditions, and safety techniques. This control is performed by special public inspectors who are elected by trade union organisations.

The Young Communist League, acting under the immediate supervision and under the direct guidance by the Party, looks after the correct application of government and Party decisions by both management and primary trade union organisations.

The Press, although not considered as a public organisation, has been entrusted with an important assignment in the system

of public control. It is an effective medium for unveiling deficiencies in the application of relevant laws and decisions.

Voluntary Groups.—The factory is interspersed with various voluntary groups which work as adjuncts of government and Party control agencies. As a rule, these specific voluntary groups are not components of any mass associations but operate on a purely local basis. The most popular voluntary agencies are special control boards of representatives of both management and labour which are appointed under the authority of the Ministry of State Control.

Distinctive Features of the Control Systems—Government agencies constitute the most systematic and thorough branch of the over-all network of control agencies; they are vested with the right to undertake legal measures against the individuals deviating from the existing orders, norms, and plans. The control exercised by these agencies is professional-bureaucratic and specialised. Its agents are specifically trained and technically equipped to handle the minutiae of very specialised control subjects.

Party control is first of all universal. There is no phase of the political, ideological, or socio-economic "front" which is not wide open to Party control. It is an intra-factory control and therefore it is continuous. It is unilateral; it controls all other control agencies but is not subject to control by them. Management, trade union organisation, police, and all other control forces are permeated by Communists, who are "the eyes and ears" of their respective Party organisations.

The directing body of the factory Party organisation is subordinated to triple intragroup control. It is controlled by (a) primary Party organisation, that is, by

the members who have elected it (horizontal control); (b) the territorial Party organisation to which it is directly subordinated and accountable (vertical control); and (c) the special agents of the Party Control Commission, a central office subordinated directly to the Central Committee of the Communist Party (diagonal control).

Control exercised by public organisations is for the most part non-specialised and has

been devised primarily to serve as an auxiliary of the Party and government systems of control.

Voluntary control is specialised but non-bureaucratic.

(From an article entitled *The Structure of Factory Control in the Soviet Union* by Alexander Vucinich, Hoover Institute, Stanford University, U. S. A., *American Sociological Review*, April 1950.)

SPECIAL PROJECTS TO AID MIGRATION

The International Labour Organisation is about to embark on a number of projects as part of its special programme of activities designed to facilitate the migration of workers from labour surplus to labour deficit countries.

This programme is being financed by a \$1,000,000 fund which was placed at the ILO's disposal in July by a number of its European member countries. The fund is in addition to the Organisation's regular budget.

The programme will comprise a series of special projects to be carried out by officials on the staff of the ILO and by specially engaged outside experts.

Most of these projects are still in the planning and development stage, but some of them have already been launched.

Julian Baer, a United States consultant, has been engaged to analyse the most effective international approach to the problem of classifying occupational characteristics for migration purposes. The purpose of this planning project is to develop the most satisfactory methods for classifying into broad international groupings the occupational characteristics of potential emigrants and the occupational requirements of immigration countries. This classification would be de-

signed to facilitate the matching of emigrants with immigration opportunities.

Manual is Planned.—Preliminary work has been started on a related project. This is to make available a technical manual on occupational analysis, description and classification, with a view to facilitating the establishment of national systems and the international comparison of one national system with another.

The need for work of this kind on occupational nomenclature was stressed by the Preliminary Migration Conference held under the auspices of the ILO in April and May.

At this conference agreement was reached on a division of responsibilities in the field of migration among the various inter-governmental agencies. In September a meeting of representatives of the organisations concerned was held at ILO headquarters to review the work accomplished since the spring conference.

Another project that is being carried through under the special migration programme is the preparation of a Guide to Employment Service Organisation. E. Ganz Wilson, a British Labour Ministry expert, has been loaned to the ILO for two months to assist in this project.

SPECIALISTS FIGHT DISEASE IN INDO-CHINA

United States health specialists are joining in a co-operative campaign against the principal disease problems of the Associated States of Indo-China. Supplies and technical assistance are given on the request of local governments which have cooperated in working out the health programs.

Principal efforts are directed toward combating malaria, tuberculosis, venereal diseases, affecting maternal and child health, and those caused by impure water supplies. The U. S. Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA) is coordinating this assistance from the American people with aid projects of the French Government and of United Nations agencies. The U. S. Public Health Service is furnishing doctors, entomologists, sanitary engineers, and other technical personnel.

Physical supplies are now being shipped to Indo-China by ECA. Mobile hospital units and prefabricated hospitals, both with full equipment, are being furnished. DDT, penicillin, and other drugs are being sent. The first shipment of medicines reached Hanoi by air in July 1950.

Acting on reports that aureomycin has been beneficial in treating trachoma, ECA

recently authorised the purchase of 60,000 one-dose tubes of aureomycin ointment in the hope of giving relief to victims of this disease. Trachoma is highly contagious and frequently leads to blindness. Preliminary tests in the Hanoi area showed that the drug had alleviated suffering.

U. S. health specialists are organizing teams staffed with native personnel to deal with health problems locally. Some of the teams will spray about 400,000 dwellings with DDT in an effort to eliminate malaria carrying mosquitoes. Sanitary engineers are supervising other groups in the drilling of wells that will insure safe water supplies for villages. Medical teams work through local authorities and village dispensaries to eliminate diseases.

Emphasis in the program is on self-help and the continuation of health and sanitary practices introduced by the teams. When persons receive medical treatment, members of their family are given preventive treatment and instructed in personal hygiene. Poster displays and other visual aids also are used in the educational program.

NO FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION IN VENEZUELA

Freedom of association in Venezuela "is far from being complete", according to a report just published by the International Labour Office.

The report said the Venezuelan unions "do not at present enjoy a freedom of action and organisation comparable to that enjoyed by countries in which the functioning of workers' organisations is protected from legal or administrative restrictions."

At the same time, the report described the social legislation of Venezuela as "very

progressive and conceived in such a manner as to ensure the effective protection of the workers."

The report was compiled by a mission of high International Labour Office officials which visited Venezuela for seven weeks in 1949 at the invitation of the Military Government Council which has been in power since a coup d'état on November 24, 1948.

Under the terms of this invitation, the purpose of the mission was "to secure

complete and impartial information concerning social problems, general conditions of the work in the different industries, the scope of the benefits and protection afforded to workers under the legislation in force and the National Government, and the development and functioning of trade unions."

Mission Headed by Rens:

The mission was headed by Jef Rens, senior Assistant Director General of the International Labour Office. The Office is the permanent secretariat of the International Labour Organisation.

The report said that in the field of living conditions and conditions of work, certain Venezuelan laws generally conform to—and sometimes go beyond—ILO standards. However, it added, this legislation was not applied everywhere with the same degree of effectiveness.

Revisions Suggested:

To consolidate the legislation, certain revisions appeared necessary, the mission suggested. It said, however, that it would be difficult for the Government to undertake these revisions without the active collaboration of the workers and employers concerned, and it emphasised that a return to freedom of association appeared to be a condition for this collaboration.

Certain measures taken by the Military Junta since the mission's visit indicated a new trend in the Junta's attitude toward the right to organise and other fundamental freedoms, the report said.

The mission said it had carefully refrained from expressing any judgement with regard to questions which did not fall within the terms of reference of the Venezuelan invitation.

Recommendations Listed:

The mission suggested, however, "in the light of the situation" it had reviewed, that the Venezuelan Government "give the fullest and most earnest consideration to the following steps designed to permit the normal functioning of healthy trade unionism."

1. Removal of the bar against the re-election by the trade unions of former members of their executive committees.

2. Lifting of the obligation to obtain prior Government approval for the holding of trade union meetings.

3. Re-establishment of the liberty of the unions to form national federations and confederations.

4. Restoration of the right to strike and lockout within the limits of the labour law.

5. Encouragement of collaboration in the economic and social field between free, strong and independent organisations of employers and workers.

The report also suggested measures to improve Venezuela's social security legislation and its labour inspection services.

The report suggested that the workers' and employers' organisations could themselves contribute to the re-establishment of normal industrial relations in the country.

It said the mission considered the employers should "endeavour without delay to set up free representative organisations, the absence of which constitutes a regrettable gap in the social structure" of Venezuela.

The mission also considered, the report declared, that "the trade union officials might, to such a degree as is possible, protect the unions from the vicissitudes of political life and enhance their prestige and the effectiveness of their action by drawing a

clearer demarcation between their purely trade union activities and their political activities..."

"The mission is convinced," the report concluded, "that if the Venezuelan Government were to adopt the recommendations

which it has put forward a secure foundation would be laid for the gradual development in Venezuela of a free trade union movement and a body of social legislation corresponding to the needs and aspirations of the Venezuelan people."

INDIAN CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK (FOURTH ANNUAL SESSION)

The Indian Conference of Social Work will be holding its fourth annual session between December 22 and 26, 1950, at Jamshedpur. Dr. Jivraj N. Mehta, Minister for Public Works and Housing, Government of Bombay, and President of the Conference, will preside over the session. The Conference will be attended by delegates from all parts of the country, who are actively associated with social work agencies and organisations.

After inauguration by the President, the session will be split up into four sections: (1) *Rural Reconstruction and Welfare*, (2) *Health Services and Social Welfare*, (3) *the University and National Social Services*, and (4) *Public Welfare*. The proceedings of each section will be guided by a chairman. Dr. Ralph Keithahn of Gandhigram, South India, is the chairman of the first section and Dr. P. V. Cherian of Madras of the second, while Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao and Dr. K. C. K. E. Raja of Delhi are in charge of the third and fourth sections respectively.

Papers by specialists will be read on various aspects of social work, such as, *Women and Child Welfare Services*, *Health Insurance and Medical Services*, *Social Services and University Students*, *Public Welfare at the National, State and Municipal levels*, etc. There will then be discussions on the papers by delegates in each section.

An attractive feature of this year's session

of the Conference is a Posters and Photographs Exhibition on various themes of social work and public welfare in the country. Artists and photographers from all over India have been invited to participate in this Exhibition.

In conjunction with the session of the Indian Conference of Social Work, there will also be a special conference, in co-operation with the Government of India, from 19 to 21 December, 1950, of experts from the United Nations and the United Nations Educational scientific and Cultural Organisation on the "Problems of Physically Handicapped Children", with special reference to the needs of India and other countries in South East Asia. Representatives of international agencies, like the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, have been invited and are likely to attend.

This year's session of the Indian Conference of Social Work will, therefore, not only afford opportunities for exchange of views and sharing of experience and knowledge in the field of social work, but will also open up new avenues of establishing contact with experts in India and abroad. The papers read and discussed will also aid professional social workers in the country to evaluate their past achievements and plan their future programmes.

BOOK REVIEWS

A Programme for Personnel Administration: By J. J. Evans (McGrow Hill Book Company, New York & London Rs. 8/12. 1945)

This book has developed out of the assignment given to the author in which he was asked to reorganize and develop the personnel department of Armstrong Cork Company. Being a person connected with production up to that moment, the author had not any adequate idea about the programme. But, he was given the opportunity and he had to play his part.

He had to search how the department was operating, and what principles and practices, which proved good were missing. He wanted to know whether there was any standard pattern of personnel administration in industry, what was the scope of its activities and its proper place in industrial organization, what was the nature of its operating relationships with the other divisions of the organization, what constituted a good personnel man, and how the effectiveness of a personnel department was measured. The author hopes that the intervening years (1937-45) have shed some light on this important and elusive subject. "If this is free", writes Mr. Evans in his preface, "and there is anything of possible value learned that can be presented on paper to my fellow travellers along this indefinitely defined trail, if something of the philosophy and the spirit that must activate a successful personnel programme can be captured and written, then this effort is worth while".

The book contains ten chapters and each one deals with a separate phase of the programme of Personnel Administration. In the chapter, 'What's in a name?', Mr. Evans stresses the importance of the uniform descriptive titles as confusing titles fail to point out the exact functions. Moreover, uniform descriptive titles not only prove

useful, but their adoption means development of this field along more uniform lines. The author states that there is no standard pattern of personnel administration in industry. One should study the needs of one's own particular organisation and then cut the cloth to fit the pattern.

According to the author, one major objective of Personnel Administration is to see that the enterprise is so maintained that the persons who make up an organization desire to continue membership in it and that its reputation among those not directly connected with it is an enviable one.

If Personnel Administration were subjected to subdivision, these major areas would be found: 1. Personnel Relations, 2. Contractual Labour Relations, 3. Public Relations. An organization does not have or escape these problems with the possible exception of the second on the basis of its size. The problems appear wherever one or more persons are employed and they are basically the same irrespective of an organization.

Looking to the responsibilities to be administered, under personnel relations, the logical first step is 'employment'. For this, one has to institute and then to maintain co-operative, friendly and intelligent relations with sources of employees. The next functions are 'Recruitment and selection'. Circumstances and conditions differ among organizations, so that a procedure that works well in one instance may be ill adapted to another. So one must choose one's own pattern. The third function is 'placement'. The individual having been procured and selected must now be correctly placed in the organization.

The second responsibility is 'Training'. It is composed of four primary areas.

These are, 1. Induction, 2. Skill or job knowledge, 3. Supervisory training and 4. Executive training. Induction further covers four main topics, 1. Introduction to the organization as a whole, 2. the factory, office or other unit in which he will be located, 3. the department or section in which he will work and 4. the job on which he will be employed. His introduction should not be confined to rules and regulations only.

Mr. Evans, then, states 'Personnel Inventory' as the third responsibility. He does not believe in 'Merit Rating' as it is practised to day. According to him, the terminology itself is bad to start with, and the methods so far developed fall far short of the true goal of Personnel Inventory". For an effective Personnel Inventory, he suggests the following objective: "To produce through written analysis and interview, maximum understanding between supervisor and individual and to assist in developing each member of the organization to his highest effectiveness, to the end that his abilities are utilized to his own best interest and those of the organization as a whole".

The fourth major field of interest is "Employee Services, Activities and Security". The phrase—Employee service—needs no explanation; however, it must be remembered that people not only want fair pay for the work performed best but there is always a desire to be recognised. They want to be treated as individuals, as members of the team.

Personal satisfaction is not possible in the absence of an effective two way communication, and an "open door policy" is always helpful to the organization. Activities fall into four natural groups—Physical, cultural, social and outings. Each organization must do its own job of surveying potentialities, interests, needs, community

conditions, and facilities that are available and those that can be made available. Employee security covers the programmes, such as, organised safety plans, employee saving plans, termination allowances, guaranteed work, guaranteed income, etc.

The fifth and last major area of Personnel Relations is "Research and planning". This area includes knowledge of legislation, regulation and interpretation. A reasonable knowledge of economic and social trends is also essential to anticipate attitudes, and conditions. Knowledge of employee reaction as well as the techniques and programmes employed in other organizations is an asset in apprising the effectiveness of our own.

While discussing qualities most desired in a personnel contact man, Mr. Evans has given 18 check points. He is not prepared to select a man if he (1) talks with too great facility, (2) lacks ability to organize his thoughts, (3) is not a patient listener, (4) cannot laugh at himself, (5) wants to be wealthy, (6) "does not grow", having painstakingly developed the solution to the other fellow's problem, (7) shies away from detail work, (8) does not have appreciation of industrial economics, (9) people do not have a desire to confide in him, (10) is not in sympathy with the capitalistic system, although quite aware of its shortcomings, (11) fails to recommend disciplinary action for a man when the situation warrants it, (12) cannot say "No" acceptably, (13) feels he is an expert in the field, (14) does not like children, (15) is not ingenuous, (16) cannot "take it", (17) is not satisfied to have the other fellow get the lion's share of glory, and (18) is not a comfortable visitor.

According to the author, such men are not the product of particular curriculum but they emerge. Technical knowledge of personnel "modus operandi" can be acquired

in a reasonable length of time by an individual properly qualified, after he has been picked. But, of course, he must be an individual, who as a result of personal experience, understands and appreciates human reactions at all the levels of the organization.

Mr. Evans agrees that a Personnel Contact Man must have a pleasing personality, patience, diplomacy, persuasiveness, ingenuity, imagination, power of expression, good business judgement, a broad knowledge of Personnel Administration, and the ability to gain and hold the respect of all persons with whom he is associated.

The personnel man should occupy a staff position and should be required to sell his 'stuff' on its own merits. In many respects, it is an exceedingly tough job, because many of his 'sales' have to be made to persons occupying supervisory positions.

The author, after studying the programmes and practices now being followed in this field, concludes that top management has

not yet reached unanimity of opinion as to what it should want from its personnel department. He submits that management could turn its attention to a no more important project than to determine the answer to this vital question.

Mr. Evans has intentionally avoided an academic text book type presentation of the subject matter and has written the book in simple understandable language. Mr. A. E. David, President, American Management Association, while introducing the book, has aptly remarked, "This is a book that will remain unique in Personnel Administration literature for many years to come. Mr. Evans has performed a service of incomparable value to industry. There are thousands of executives in management today who will benefit from this experience."

For a fuller grasp of Personnel Administration, this is an absolutely 'must read book' for students of industrial relations and personnel management.

S. C. Rao.

TEAM-WORK IN INDUSTRY

By F. J. Burns Morton. (Chapman & Hall, London, Sh. 18.)

We are living in an age in which economic exploitation has become the right of a few, communal and class hatred predominate, corruption and nepotism have taken roots in industry, racial discrimination still rules, poverty is the lot of ignorant and innocent millions, moral degradation has reached its nadir, strikes, lockouts and wars have become the order of the day and peace has become a mirage to many of us. And now Mr. Morton comes out with his book of peace, progress and prosperity.

Mr. Morton preaches a new method of organisation, a new technique of administration and a new scheme for teamwork. He

writes as an experienced industrial manager and not as a technician. A psychologist by inclination and a philosopher by experience, he tries to solve the problems of modern industry by taking a humanitarian outlook, combined with scientific analysis. He advocates practical and positive discipline; and insists that the technique of giving orders is more important than even the technical import of such orders. He looks to those many incentives to work which are not financial in origin and believes that training and education at work, for work and through work are more vital than any or all of those heterogenous activities, generally called 'wel-

fare', which alone can never achieve the same results.

He emphasises the human factor more than any other in building up an industry. Men possess great potentialities and they are held back by management. The problem before management is how to stimulate men to do their best both as operatives and as executives. To create a state when men work efficiently as individuals and effectively as a group is a matter vital to industry. All decisions of management whether technical or commercial depend ultimately on the human factor. Mr. Morton starts with an account of industrial growth and passing through the channels of individual economy and planned society, reaches industrial democracy.

He draws a picture of industrial democracy as one in which liberty is not licence and increasing personal liberty becomes integrated with growing personal responsibility. He advocates the law of understanding human nature which can be changed through efforts. He shatters to pieces the arguments of those who hold the view that human nature cannot be changed, by his powerful logic and ample historical material. Man is a social animal, a product of society. He reflects his surroundings both human and material. His behaviour is determined by past experience and present circumstances. Dirty, dark and unhealthy working conditions produce similar habits in workers. He explodes the theory of instinct and critically examines the theories propounded by Freud, Adler, Watson and advocates the conclusion reached by experimental psychologists like Charles Mayers, William Brown, Cyril, Burt, Thorndike, and Ballard.

Mr. Morton advocates healthy competition. He pleads for the creation of common

understanding between superior and subordinate as well as among those of the same status. A clear aim and proved method are essential for bringing about effective teamwork. We must inspire confidence and get people to think, feel and act with us. Mr. Morton discriminates between co-operation and teamwork and upholds the latter. Co-operation, according to him, is a complex thing, built up of many related factors. There is little point in having joint production committees to deal with grievances after they have arisen, if the causes are not tackled and removed. Co-operation is a continuous state of being; its is a delicate indication of feeling, existing at any one time —difficult to improve, easy to destroy. Joint committees provide a temporary expedient rather than a permanent solution; they are applied occasionally rather than continuously they are regarded as procedures rather than policies; they are superficial and not fundamental. He explains the behaviours and misunderstandings of employers and employees. The employer thinks he is paying operatives who want as much as they can get for as little as they can do. The employees feel the company wants to pay as little as it can and get as much as it can. Better understanding can result only from a willingness to work together. Better understanding is an emotional rather than an economic response. It calls for sympathy, consideration, comprehensiveness and consistency. He defines team-work as the continuous condition of working together which makes the most of circumstances, equipment and persons both individually and collectively in the common interest of the group. He points out the dark side of individualism which has long held sway over our industrial organisations, and encourages teamwork spirit. He further distinguishes between driving and leading and points out the salient features of each. Leading is dis-

tinguished by self-confidence born of real understanding both of men and of their work. Its approach is one of open-mindedness, where the personal authority strives to appreciate and to solve the problems of both persons and personnel. He gives us the essentials of a team, i.e., definite policy, able leadership, planned organisation, internal harmony, continuity. Success or failure depends mainly upon leadership. The responsibility for future harmony in industry lies with those in authority and their delegated supervisors, who by their methods and manners can set men against each other or bring them together in an effective and efficient team. Mr. Morton explains the meaning of the most complicated work—job satisfaction in a simple way—and suggests the way to achieve the same. Interest in work must be created. Employees have to be persuaded and not forced. The freedom of selection should be given to the worker regarding the nature of work. Such persons are inclined to be more interested in the work they do than in the remuneration they receive. Job satisfaction is indicated when workers are determined to execute their duties efficiently, when they think collectively in terms of 'we' rather than 'I'; react spontaneously to discipline and co-operation; and are cheerful and enthusiastic about their jobs. He gives some of the causes of employee dissatisfaction and lack of team-work: (1) poor organisation, (2) ineffective management, (3) inconsiderate supervision, (4) unsuitable working conditions, (5) absence of interest in work and (6) unfriendly associations. He gives a number of results of employee attitude tests conducted by Hopcock, Hall and Lock, Wyatt and Langdone, etc. Job satisfaction can be achieved by creating job enthusiasm. If insecurity is a constant menace, many methods exist where a large measure of certainty and regular employment can be

created. Where there is serious dissatisfaction with supervision, steps should be taken either to train foremen in new methods or to effect replacements. Many of the irritations suffered by employees arise more from misunderstanding than from any other cause. Although job enthusiasm emanates from the employee, it is maintained largely by competent management which manifests itself in countless precautions for and considerations of the employee, by establishing precise selection of staff and proper placement, introducing new workers; encouraging promotions; making jobs interesting; taking safety precautions; dealing with grievances and removing misunderstandings. From the point of view of building up group efficiency and job satisfaction, a disgruntled person is a menace and a liability. Mr. Morton, therefore, suggests occupational therapy to such maladjusted workers.

He further tackles the problem of selection of employees, methods of selection and causes and cure of maladjustments. Mr. Morton does not create a Utopia of his own, but wants to suggest a practical solution for the existing problems. He is of the opinion that, with a noble mind and a kind heart, we can solve many of our problems without much difficulty. He gives a number of selection tests and also points out their drawbacks. He says that selection tests are devised to measure innate individual differences and not acquired skills; they are confined to fundamental requirements in mental and manual movements. But he does not undervalue them. He is of definite opinion that they are useful in selection for training and promotion. He has also given the classification of vocations according to degree of intelligence required. He emphasises the importance of training. As new processes, procedures and principles are discovered, training becomes necessary. "The aim of education is not knowledge

but action", says Mr. Morton. He strongly holds the view that men can be improved through training. Training for team-work not only requires the accurate and intensive instruction in narrow technical skills, but also involves the education of the employee in the broader issues, which make possible creation of interest in work and co-operation with other workers. Team-work cannot be assured by the narrow but highly trained specialists alone; it requires also those broadening influences of personality which ensure sound and sensible acquaintance with factory affairs as well as social changes. He also gives a plan of teaching job-selection. (p. 108)

He gives a detailed plan for training in leadership. The training department must be fully alive to changes in process and the progress of trainees in practice. A continuous follow-up of newly placed employees will enable a check to be made on methods of training and practice in selection. With the advent of films, descriptive guides and other media, training can be standardised and effectively systematised. He suggests a short course for training the employees to run an industry in team spirit. (1) Principles of organisation, (2) Group integration, (3) Employee attitudes, (4) Training operatives, (5) Staff development, (6) Giving orders, (7) Non-financial incentives, (7) Planned development, (8) Team-work and (9) Executive proficiency. The plan includes internal conferences, training within the industry and outside. Mr. Morton further discusses the part played by incentives in modern industry for creating team-work spirit. He gives two types of incentives—one, financial and the other, non-financial. They are closely inter-related aspects of the same policy of appeal to each individual to strive to the full towards group work. He further explains the importance of time study in the modern industrial development.

Time study analysis not only eliminates unnecessary processes, relieves heavy and irksome movements, introduces proper rest periods, and improves working conditions, but also invariably develops new skills and encourages more precise selection. It permits the physical and psychological requirements of the job to be determined precisely. It is necessary to stress that time study analysis is carried out primarily to determine the time required by the average person for a standard performance.

Financial incentives help to encourage maximum productivity, to avoid undue wear and tear of plant, equipment or man-power and provide a fair reward for special effort. Non-financial incentives are of the nature of promotion, good working conditions, fair justice. (p. 135). Team-work demands interference, not with those matters which concern the private lives of individuals, but with the causes which prevent effective co-operation in the working group. Once the policy of team-work is known and declared, employees' personal resentment is likely to diminish for men want to co-operate, provided the essential conditions for working together have been established.

A team without a leader is just like a plane without a pilot. A leader is the pilot who steers his way through the clouds of misunderstandings, hatred, competition and reaches the destiny of peace and happiness. Mr. Morton discusses the types of leadership and differentiates the old and new leadership. He defines leadership as highly competent direction of the activity of subordinates, the general interests of the company as a whole towards a goal acceptable to the community in general and of vital interest to the group in particular, so that each individual is influenced to work willingly, effectively and harmoniously. Leadership signifies a new approach and a new

technique of administrative efficiency. Leadership is not something forced on an unreceptive staff, but something which arises out of prevailing circumstances. Further, leadership is not confined to one person in a business but exists and must be developed to the foremen and charge-hands. The new leadership aspect of modern business is attributable to the rise of the professional administrator. Energy must be the first essential of leadership. Ability not only to plan and guide the work of others but also to view each action as it affects those concerned. The intellectual qualities of the leader should be superior to those possessed by anyone in the group. He should have quick, keen discerning intelligence. The growing strength of organised labour and the greater independence of staff demands the negotiating type of leader rather than the autocratic type.

Psychology and personality constitute at least 50 per cent of the requirements for success as an executive. In industry, this psychological ability means 75% of the necessary equipment. The ability to get people to work together is of great importance. Mr. Morton gives advice on the methods of supervision and of issuing orders to subordinates. He regards that criticising a person before others, especially before

subordinates, is a serious error in administration. Rewarding commendable work is one of the techniques of supervision. A lack of understanding as to how orders are to be issued, the failure to encourage suggestions and the unwillingness to follow up and assess performance cause discontent and lack of interest. The nature of order should vary according to the people to whom it is issued. The purpose of an order, according to him, is to get the desired results. Mr. Morton advocates discipline and high moral character. He thinks that self-discipline is the best way of teaching discipline. Discipline does not imply rudeness or unreasonable strictness. Discipline should not be forced from outside but should be made to spring from within.

Lastly he gives the picture of an ideal industry, industry of the people, for the people and by the people.

Mr. Morton has done a yeoman service to industrial peace by writing this book. This book is extremely helpful to all those who are concerned with industry. He has handled the most difficult problem in an extremely simple way. Lucidity of style and clarity of thought and expression characterise the book. No serious student of industrial problems can afford to miss this book.

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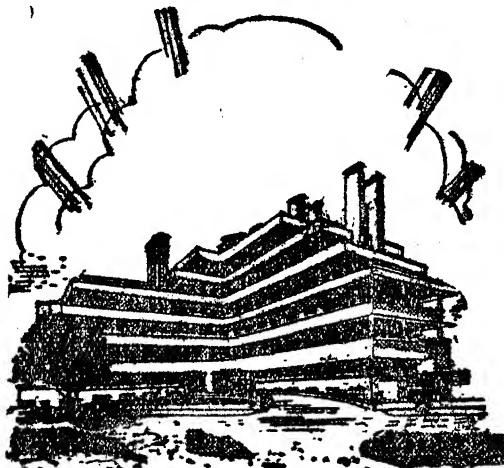
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